DOUBLE ISSUE

SEPT. 7 / SEPT. 14, 2015

# Colbert ... AS YOU'VE NEVER SEEN HIM

By James Poniewozik

# TIME

## Plus

Rise of the Kremlin hard-liners 58

THE MOST POWERFUL WOMAN ON THE INTERNET 70

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How to act like Steve Jobs 96

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When it comes to finding a new career, sticking to what we know may seem like the safest bet. But slipping out of our comfort zones brings the most positive results. As a master of personal reinvention, **Pamela Mitchell**, founder and CEO of The Reinvention Institute, takes us through the process step by step.

PAMELA MITCHELL

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TIME
VOL. 186, NO. 9–10 | 2015

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DIRTY DIAMONDS: LYNSEY ADDARIO—GETTY IMAGES REPORTAGE FOR TIME; THE WEEKND: CHELSEA LAUREN—WIREIMAGE/GETTY IMAGES

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## What you said about ...

**DONALD TRUMP** Readers had what the GOP candidate might call a "huge" response to Michael Scherer's Aug. 31 cover story about Trump's place in the 2016 presidential race. "Is he plausible?" Chris Matthews asked Scherer on MSNBC. Scherer's view—"He'd have to change a lot of minds"—was not uncommon. Don Walker of Pittsburgh wrote that Trump's popularity was fleeting, a message from voters "sick of tired talking points … when they'd like a candidate to stand up and give plain answers in plain English." "Sideshows may be fun," added Steve Campbell of Burbank, Calif., "but they shouldn't serve as a substitute for rolling up your sleeves and really getting involved in a meaningful way." Angrier readers decried what they saw as Trump's "bullying" and "xenophobic" remarks, with Stacey Stathulis of Westerville, Ohio, responding to the cover's headline: "Deal with what, exactly? That he has given voice to the ugliest side of America?"

> 'What other candidates should take away from the Trump campaign: be authentic.'
>
> SANDRA DAPRATO, Mount Dora, Fla.

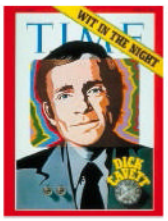
One element of the story, however, caused little argument: photographer Martin Schoeller's images of Trump posing in his gleaming Manhattan office with Uncle Sam, a 27-year-old bald eagle, which were featured on several morning and late-night talk shows. On Twitter, Vox.com's Ezra Klein praised TIME for wrangling "the Donald Trumpiest photo shoot ever."

> 'This level of intellectual incapacitation is more of a danger to our fragile, imperfect democracy than any terrorist organization.'
>
> CHARLES BOOHER, St. Augustine, Fla.

**BACK IN *TIME*** Stephen Colbert joins a long line of **late-night hosts** who have made news on the cover of TIME, from the days when Carson was the "Midnight Idol" to Letterman's time in "the most frenzied battle for late-night viewers in TV history." For more on TIME's cover shoot with Colbert *(above with photographer Platon)*, visit lightbox.time.com.

**JACK PAAR** *(Aug. 18, 1958)*

**JOHNNY CARSON** *(May 19, 1967)*




**DICK CAVETT** *(June 7, 1971)*

**ARSENIO HALL** *(Nov. 13, 1989)*

**JAY LENO** *(March 16, 1992)*

**DAVID LETTERMAN** *(Aug. 30, 1993)*

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COLBERT: CORY VANDERPLOEG

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# Katrina, in hindsight

*On Aug. 29, 2005, Hurricane Katrina made landfall in Louisiana with winds of up to 125 m.p.h., causing an unprecedented storm surge and catastrophic floods that would forever change the area's social fabric. The photographs that came out of New Orleans in the days, weeks and months that followed helped remind the world how vulnerable we are to large-scale disaster, even in the major cities of modern America. To commemorate Katrina's 10-year anniversary, TIME asked 14 of the people who were taking those photos to tell us about the ones that moved them most. Here, a sampling of the perspectives we've gathered at time.com/katrina-photos.*

Mario Tama, who shot this photo in New Orleans on Aug. 31, 2005, later went on to document the hurricane's aftermath. "This picture represents to me not just what I witnessed that day," he says, "but also what I came to know about the community of folks coming back to their homes, back to their roots, which run deep in New Orleans."

Joachim Ladefoged chose an image of a destroyed home in the Ninth Ward of New Orleans *(left),* which he shot in 2006, because it illustrates the terrible power of water. The photograph of Quintella Williams holding her 9-day-old baby outside the Superdome *(right)* was chosen by Michael Appleton, who notes that the scene was "made all the more depressing by the fact that it didn't have to be that way."

**FOLLOWING UP** In March, TIME explored the promise of precision medicine in treating cancer patients. One of the women featured on the cover, MaryAnn Anselmo *(left),* was taking a drug typically used for melanoma to treat her Stage IV glioblastoma—an aggressive brain tumor that often takes a patient's life in a matter of months. Now, nearly two years after her diagnosis, Anselmo has happier news to share. "The latest scan doesn't show any tumor anymore," says her physician, Dr. David Hyman of Memorial Sloan Kettering Cancer Center. His newest study, in which Anselmo participated, was published in August in the *New England Journal of Medicine*. And how's the patient feeling? "I'm tired all the time," Anselmo tells TIME. "But I feel awesome compared to what this tumor could have done to me." Read more at time.com/anselmo.

**BONUS** *TIME*

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***TIME* LABS** Where do the richest Americans shop? Using numbers from the research company AggData, TIME compiled a list by ranking nearly 3,000 national retail chains—sellers of cars, computers, clothing and more—according to the median income of the counties where their shops are located. Among the findings: though Trader Joe's may have a populist image, the grocer actually serves slightly wealthier counties than rival Whole Foods does. Here, a preview of the full ranking at labs.time.com:

| | |
|---|---|
| **1. HANNA ANDERSSON** | Children's clothing store with 56 locations |
| **2. PAPER SOURCE** | A stationer, like No. 4–ranked Papyrus |
| **3. TESLA** | Electric-car company with dealerships in 25 states |

BOAT: MARIO TAMA—GETTY IMAGES; HOUSE: JOACHIM LADEFOGED—VII; WOMAN: MICHAEL APPLETON

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# ‘The entire world admires your courage.’

**FRENCH PRESIDENT FRANÇOIS HOLLANDE** *(center),* bestowing the Legion of Honor on three Americans and a Briton who averted a potential massacre by tackling a gunman on a high-speed train to Paris

**Turkey**
The supply grew more than expected, even after bird flu killed about 9 million turkeys

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

**Beef**
Store-bought ground beef often contains dangerous bacteria, a new study found

## ‘I FEEL THE DEEP ETHICAL AND POLITICAL OBLIGATION TO PUT TO YOUR JUDGMENT ALL I HAVE DONE.’

**GREEK PRIME MINISTER ALEXIS TSIPRAS,** announcing that he would step down so voters can decide whether he should remain in power in a Sept. 20 snap election aimed at quieting squabbling factions in his party

## 69%

Percentage of **divorces initiated by women,** according to a new study

## 4,000

Employees **Chipotle hopes to hire in a single day** in September amid a more competitive market for restaurant workers

## *‘I’ve had a wonderful life.’*

**FORMER PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER,** saying he’ll scale back his work “dramatically” after cancer first detected in his liver spread to his brain

## $35,000

Value of jewelry a New York City woman says she **accidentally left in the trunk** of a taxi

## ‘WE ARE NOT SPLITTING UP, BUT WE WILL BE TAKING A WELL-EARNED BREAK.’

**NIALL HORAN,** member of the band One Direction, shooting down rumors that the group was disbanding

## ‘Go back to Univision.’

**DONALD TRUMP,** to Jorge Ramos, after the prominent Hispanic journalist asked about the presidential candidate’s plan to deport 11 million undocumented immigrants. In an escalation of tensions between Trump and Spanish-language media, Ramos was escorted out of a news conference but later allowed to return

GETTY IMAGES (3); AP (2); ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

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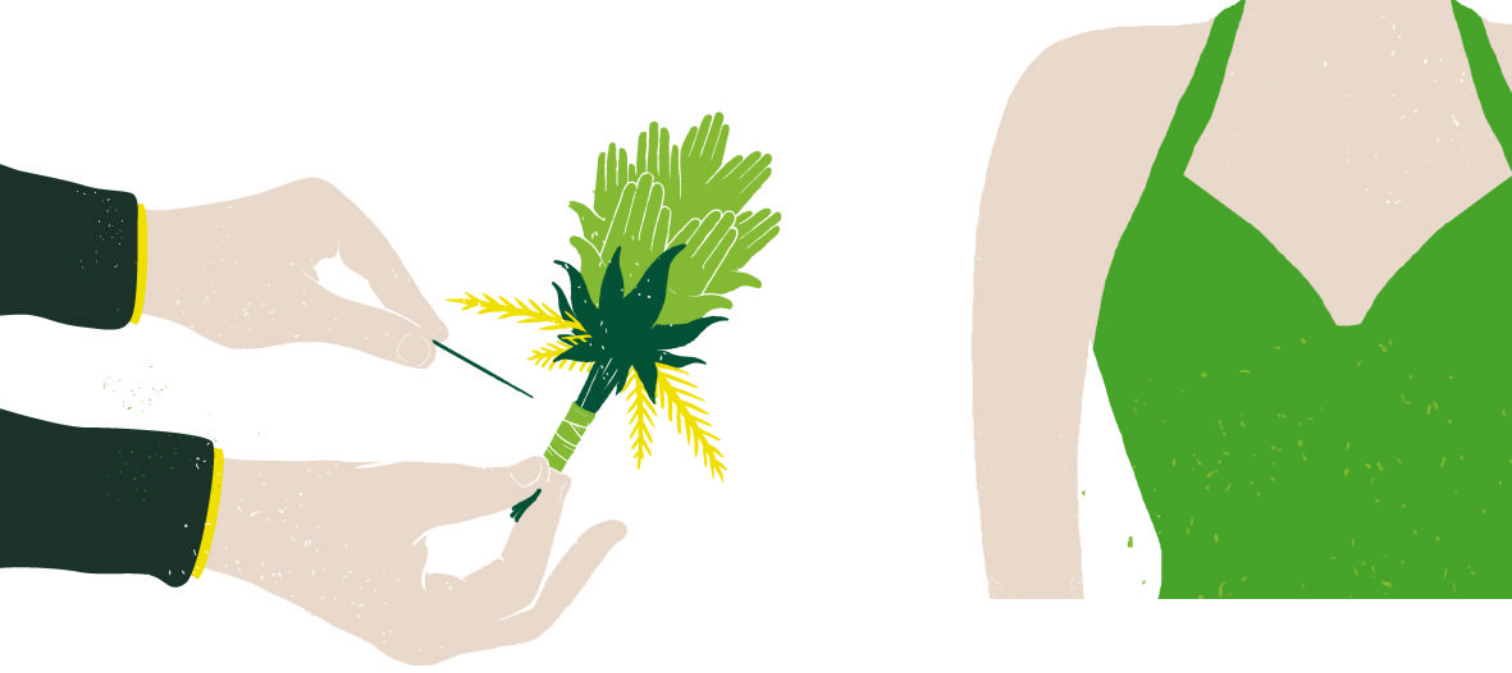

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# The Brief

*'NOBODY MADE MORE FRIENDS AND GOT FEWER VOTES IN THE HISTORY OF THE IOWA CAUCUSES.'* —PAGE 20

*Traders at the New York Stock Exchange scrambled during a China-led sell-off on Aug. 24*

ECONOMY

## A market rout carries echoes of the 2008 crash. What hasn't been fixed?

**By Rana Foroohar**

INVESTORS KNEW IT WAS COMING. But that didn't make it any less painful. Global markets, long due for a major correction after their bull run over the past several years, have finally broken. China, the second largest economy in the world, led the plunge on Aug. 24, with the Shanghai index falling more than it has since 2007. Emerging markets, Europe and the U.S. all followed. The Dow lost nearly 600 points, more than when the U.S.'s credit was downgraded in 2011. Markets recovered, but investors were spooked. "This is one of the longest periods the market had gone through with such low volatility," explains Ruchir Sharma, chief macroeconomist for Morgan Stanley Investment Management. "It was therefore vulnerable to some bad news."

Inevitable maybe, but why now exactly? After all, the European debt crisis is under control (for the moment). America's economic recovery, though slow, had been steady enough to persuade the Federal Reserve to lean toward raising interest rates in September.

If you listen closely to the sounds of this late-summer crash, you can hear distinct echoes of the 2008 financial crisis. Back then, when American and European companies and consumers stopped spending, other stakeholders in the global economy were compelled to take up the slack. Chinese authorities, for example, launched a massive stimulus program, investing in infrastructure and real estate in an attempt to make up for the lack of global demand for their country's exports.

GETTY IMAGES; REUTERS; AP; EPA

It worked. China, which has been responsible for the largest chunk of global economic growth since the crisis, avoided the so-called hard landing many had feared. But it also set the stage for the largest debt bubble in history. The Chinese currently have a debt-to-GDP ratio of about 300%—three times that of the U.S. Now that bubble appears to be bursting. Fear of broader contagion helps explain why reactions in the rest of the world's markets were so stark.

But things may not be as dire as all the flashing red down arrows suggest, even if global markets continued to wobble days after the initial crash. Most observers believe China's market crash doesn't herald a "Lehman" moment, the unraveling of a strand that causes the whole sweater to fall to pieces. The country's banking sector, mostly state-owned, is ring-fenced from the rest of the world. That means bad debt won't ricochet from Iceland to Iowa and back as it did in the 2008 financial crisis.

Still, China's growth has slowed. (Many analysts, like Sharma, think it's closer to 5% than the official statistic of 7%.) And a sluggish China does put a brake on economies in the rest of the world. American companies get a third of their earnings internationally now, about twice the rate in the 1990s. A fall in Shanghai isn't going to tank American markets à la 2008 or push the U.S. back into recession. Yet it will mean that the U.S. stays basically where it is, hovering somewhere between 2% and 3% growth, with wages stagnant and without the steam to turn the current recovery into something more robust. All of which adds more uncertainty to the economic picture for the U.S. over the next year. That could make it difficult for the Fed to hike interest rates this fall.

More broadly, the current turmoil proves that the world is still awaiting clearer resolutions of the distortions from the financial crisis of 2008. These would include a healthier rebalancing of growth among the U.S., Europe and emerging markets. The Chinese, meanwhile, need to shift from making cheap goods to being a higher-end service economy to offset Western consumers who can't (and shouldn't) spend much more as a percentage of their incomes on foreign goods.

But seven years on, nothing has really changed. The Chinese government's fumbled attempts to stanch the stock-market bleeding show signs of deeper dysfunction. Europe is improving, though it is still prone to minicrises. The U.S. is a bright spot, to be sure. But its growth isn't strong enough to pull the whole world along. And with public debt at record levels, governments around the world are generally out of fiscal and monetary ammunition to buoy markets through intervention.

The bottom line? The market dip of the past few days may be only the first of others yet to come. □

## TRENDING

**DISASTERS**

A 400-sq.-mi. (1,035 sq km) group of wildfires was named the **largest in Washington State's history** by officials on Aug. 24. Firefighters from New Zealand and Australia flew in to help battle the Okanogan Complex, which has killed three firefighters, injured four and destroyed 200 homes.

**ELECTIONS**

Turkey's President Recep Tayyip Erdogan announced a **snap election, expected on Nov. 1,** after June elections failed to produce a governing coalition. The political uncertainty comes amid growing violence as Turkey wages war against both ISIS and Kurdish separatists.

**DEMOGRAPHICS**

Japan's government may scrap its policy of **giving citizens a silver sake cup when they turn 100.** The country's aging population means the traditional gifting of *sakazuki,* which began in 1963, now costs over $2 million a year. Japan is also considering cheaper materials.

ROUNDUP

## Controversial condiments

The FDA ruled Aug. 12 that egg-free vegan mayo cannot be marketed as mayonnaise. It's not the first unusual battle over a condiment:

**KETCHUP**
**ISRAEL**

After a lobbying campaign by Israeli ketchup producer Osem, Israel's Health Ministry recently ruled that Heinz ketchup must be labeled "tomato seasoning" as it is not 41% tomato concentrate as required by Israeli trade standards.



**MAYONNAISE**
**BELGIUM**

A royal decree from 1955 stipulates that real Belgian mayonnaise should contain 80% fat and 7.5% egg yolk, meaning that lighter versions must be labeled as salad dressing. Suppliers are campaigning to alter the decades-old legislation.

**WASABI**
**JAPAN**

In Japan, wasabi products must be at least 5% *Wasabia japonica,* the highly perishable, costly root vegetable native to Japan's highlands. The product sold in the rest of the world is usually just regular horseradish, mustard and some coloring.

**HOT SAUCE**
**U.S.**

The Californian city of Irwindale filed a lawsuit in October 2013 against Huy Fong Foods, maker of the popular Sriracha hot sauce, claiming its factory's odor was a "public nuisance." Irwindale dropped the lawsuit the following May.

DIGITS

# 6 million

**Number of hits on Aug. 21 on the website for Dismaland, a satirical theme-park installation in southwest England designed by artist Banksy, amid huge demand for tickets**

**SLOW WORK** Palestinians take apart a damaged building in al-Shejaiya, a suburb of Gaza City, on Aug. 23, three days before the first anniversary of the end of a 50-day conflict between Israel and Palestinian militants. An estimated 18,000 homes were ruined in the fighting, but only about 12% of their owners have been approved to rebuild under a process created by the U.N., Israel and the Palestinian Authority. *Photograph by Mohammed Abed—AFP/Getty Images*

EXPLAINER

## Europe's struggle with lone-wolf terrorists

THREE AMERICANS AND A BRITISH man subdued armed gunman Ayoub El-Khazzani on a high-speed train between Amsterdam and Paris on Aug. 21, another reminder of Europe's susceptibility to attacks by individual radical Islamists apparently working alone. Here's why continental Europe is particularly vulnerable to such attacks:

**ISLAMIST INFLUENCE** Officials say many of the 5,000 Europeans who have fought with extremist groups like ISIS or al-Qaeda's Nusra Front in Iraq and Syria return eager to stage attacks; these include Khazzani, who is believed to have traveled to Syria last year. Others are radicalized from afar, like the Paris gunman who killed four people in a kosher supermarket in January.

*Since May 2014, extremists have carried out deadly attacks in France, Denmark and Belgium*

**ACCESS TO GUNS** Though the E.U. has some of the world's strictest gun-control laws, its proximity to former conflict zones in the Balkans means that aspiring terrorists have access to some 3 million illicit weapons still in circulation there—including Kalashnikovs found when police discovered an arms cache in Belgium in January.

**POROUS BORDERS** Freedom of movement within the E.U. means anyone can cross borders by rail or road with few security checks, and there is no pan-European no-fly list. Security services, already struggling to prevent Europeans from joining extremists abroad, have the near impossible task of identifying which individuals are intent on carrying out small-scale attacks that require little planning or coordination. Diplomatic officials say greater intelligence sharing is crucial to curtail the problem.

—NAINA BAJEKAL

DISASTERS, ELECTIONS, DIGITS, EXPLAINER: REUTERS; DEMOGRAPHICS: AP; ROUNDUP: GETTY IMAGES

DATA

MOST-IMPROVED CITIES

Cities in general are becoming less livable, according to the Economist Intelligence Unit. But here are five where livability is on the rise:

**Harare**
Zimbabwe

**Beijing**
China

**Warsaw**
Poland

**Honolulu**
U.S.

**Baku**
Azerbaijan

DATA SOURCE: THE ECONOMIST INTELLIGENCE UNIT GLOBAL LIVEABILITY RANKING 2015

## TRENDING

**PROTESTS**
Thousands demonstrated in Beirut over **piles of uncollected garbage** that have swamped the Lebanese capital since a landfill was closed earlier this year. Police clashes Aug. 22 and 23 left dozens injured and prompted calls for wider government reform.

**TRANSPORT**
Americans are currently **unhappier with their cars** than in any year since 2004, according to the American Consumer Satisfaction Index. The annual survey of 4,300 consumers blames record recalls and high prices; the average cost of a new car now exceeds $33,000.

**ANIMALS**
The 17-year-old giant panda Mei Xiang **gave birth to twin cubs** at the National Zoo in Washington on Aug. 22. The births marked the first time that five pandas have lived at the zoological park at one time. Sadly, the smaller of the cubs died Aug. 26.

# A deadly summer for U.S. cities

**By Josh Sanburn**

ON AUG. 19, BALTIMORE POLICE FOUND A 28-year-old man wounded from a gunshot. He was taken to a hospital, where he died later that night. The incident would likely have attracted little notice, except that the unidentified man was the 212th homicide victim in the city this year, surpassing the total for all of 2014 with more than four months still left in the year.

It's been a long, smoldering summer in Charm City, where the embers from April's riots over the death of Freddie Gray in police custody still burn white hot. The city of 600,000 is averaging more than one homicide a day and has seen more killing than New York City, which has 13 times as many people. But while Baltimore's gruesome tally may be extreme, the city is no outlier.

Across the U.S., cities have been experiencing a surge in murders and violent crime. Milwaukee has already topped its 2014 mark. New Orleans, St. Louis and Washington are all on track to do the same. Even Hartford, Conn., a city of 125,000, has had 21 murders so far this year. In all of 2014, there were 19. And on Aug. 26, two journalists from a Roanoke, Va., television station were shot dead in a grisly on-air attack. Though the shooting occurred outside the city, Roanoke too has already had more than twice the number of murders this year as last.

Coming after years of national decline, the rise in deadly violence has experts struggling to come up with an explanation. To some, it's the so-called Ferguson effect, a theory that police have been more hesitant to use force since the fatal shooting of Michael Brown. As an example, proponents point to Baltimore, where arrests dropped by more than half in the months after Gray's death.

Others say a move toward less confrontational police tactics has created an easier climate for criminals. New York City, for instance, moved away from a policy of stopping and frisking anyone deemed suspicious after a federal judge found it disproportionately targeted minorities. So far, homicides in the Big Apple are up almost 10% over last year.

Still, more cities say the problem is not the cops but the criminals. Milwaukee police say Wisconsin gun laws make it too easy to get a firearm. Chicago has stringent gun controls, but officials there fret the laws mean little when guns are widely available in nearby states.

Not every city has had a similar increase. Philadelphia's homicide rate remains near last year's, while Los Angeles is on pace for fewer killings. "This is Chicken Little thinking that the sky is falling," says Northeastern University criminologist James Alan Fox. "It's not." Fox argues that there is not yet enough data to conclude whether violent-crime rates are trending upward for the long haul. While shifts in policing could be having an effect, Fox says they are likely temporary, akin to month-to-month changes in the unemployment rate.

A more likely explanation is that it just isn't realistic to expect violent crime to remain at near historic lows year in and year out. "The problem is you sometimes become a victim of your own success," Fox says.

Determining whether this spike is an anomaly or the start of a long-term trend will likely take a year or two—cold comfort to families mourning those lost in this violent summer. □

### MURDER SPIKE

Several U.S. cities are on pace for particularly deadly years

| | Homicides so far in 2015 | Total homicides in 2014 |
|---|---|---|
| BALTIMORE | 215 | 211 |
| NEW YORK | 208 | 333 |
| ST. LOUIS | 112 | 159 |
| MILWAUKEE | 105 | 93 |
| WASHINGTON | 103 | 105 |
| HARTFORD, CONN. | 21 | 19 |

PROTESTS: EPA; TRANSPORT, ANIMALS: GETTY IMAGES

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**VAULT CODE: TIM9-119**

## Milestones

*Bolt during the 100-m world-championship final on Aug. 23*

**< WON**

The 100-m world-championship final, by **Usain Bolt,** who completed the race in 9.79 sec. The Jamaican runner narrowly beat out rival American Justin Gatlin, by just 0.01 sec., after trailing most of the race. Bolt, widely regarded as the fastest person ever, plans to retire in 2017.

**OPENED**

**Mount Everest,** to climbers, for the first time since an earthquake in Nepal earlier this year killed about 9,000 people, including at least 17 who died in an avalanche on the mountain. The first to attempt a climb to the top of the reopened peak will be a Japanese man who lost parts of nine of his fingers the last time he tried.

**DIED**

› **Ieng Thirith,** 83, considered the First Lady of the Khmer Rouge. She was Minister of Social Affairs in the genocidal Cambodian government.

› **Jacob Bekenstein,** 68, physicist who made great advances in the science of black holes. While Stephen Hawking at first disagreed with his theory on the entropy of black holes, he eventually made his own calculations that showed Bekenstein had been right; the theory is now called Bekenstein-Hawking radiation.

› **Justin Wilson,** 37, IndyCar driver, after an Aug. 23 crash during the penultimate race of the season at the Pocono Raceway in Pennsylvania. He died the next day.

BIG QUESTION

## Why are flight prices so low?

Airfare prices dipped 5.6% from June to July, the biggest monthly drop since 1995, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics' Consumer Price Index. Three factors are driving the decline:

**LOW FUEL COSTS**

Jet-fuel prices have fallen nearly 50% over the past year as oil prices have declined, significantly lowering costs for airlines and boosting their profits to record highs. A portion of those savings gets passed on to consumers.

**LEGAL TROUBLES**

The Justice Department is investigating anticompetitive practices among the major U.S. airlines, which have consolidated their power through a series of mergers over the past decade. Keeping prices low may help them avoid signs of collusion.

**LOWER DEMAND**

Following summer vacations, families tend to get busy with back-to-school activities, a period travel experts refer to as a dead zone for bookings. That means prices are likely to dip further in August and September.

*—Victor Luckerson*

BY THE NUMBERS

## America's drone danger

Unmanned-aircraft sightings reported by pilots have nearly tripled since last year, according to new Federal Aviation Administration data, raising concerns about possible collisions with planes. It can be hard to confirm that what people say are drones actually are drones, but either way, they're seeing a lot more of them.

**650**

Pilot sightings of drones this year as of Aug. 9—up from 238 for all of 2014

**12**

Reports of drones spotted from airplanes or airports in the U.S. on Aug. 16 alone

**10**

Distance in feet a drone reportedly passed from an Air Wisconsin flight outside Philadelphia on May 19

**0**

Confirmed midair collisions between planes and drones.

*—Olivia B. Waxman*

BOLT: VLADIMIR SMIRNOV—ITAR-TASS/LANDOV; DRONE: FLIGHTS: GETTY IMAGES

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*Will Biden, pictured near the Oval Office, make a play for the White House?*

DEMOCRATS

# Joe Biden weighs one more shot at the job he always wanted

**By Philip Elliott**

IN CALL AFTER CALL, JOE BIDEN SOUNDS READY TO GO. HE IS UPBEAT AND POSITIVE. Working a Rolodex that goes back to the early 1970s, he barely mentions Hillary Clinton. In one recent chat with a supporter from South Carolina, Biden's voice rang hoarse, as though he had been on the phone for hours. He told her that he had beaten a stutter as a young man through hard work and determination and that he had faced tougher challenges than running for President. Even with a late start, he was not intimidated.

But will he or won't he? Even Biden isn't sure. In conversations over the past month from his home in Delaware, a rented vacation house in South Carolina and the Naval Observatory in Washington, the Vice President has made it clear to his allies and friends that a decision to seek the Democratic nomination will come down to matters of organization and fundraising, whether he stood a shot at the job and the impact of a punishing race on his already bruised family.

Biden has run for President twice before—in 1988 and 2008—and each time he dropped out earlier than he had planned. Two years ago, talk of a third run became virtually taboo when Beau Biden, the eldest child of the Vice President, was diagnosed with brain cancer. But before Beau died in June, he asked the man he called Pop to promise he would make a third run at the White House.

Biden didn't make that pledge, advisers say, but he is now asking his inner circle what it would take to honor it. So they have spent much of the past few weeks sitting around the same tables where the Biden family members often waited for the patriarch's train to return every night from Washington during his 36-year Senate career. It is neither impossible nor too late for Biden to seek the job he has always coveted. Clinton's nomination is no longer inevitable. Vermont Senator Bernie Sanders is turning out massive crowds even though few expect the self-described socialist to block Clinton. And after a lifetime in public service—he was elected Senator at age 29—Biden might be due a break.

> 'Nobody made more friends and got fewer votes in the history of the Iowa caucuses.'
>
> **DAVE NAGLE,** former Democratic Congressman from Iowa

So the Biden machine—a somewhat disjointed collection of family members, pollsters, veteran aides and a handful of longtime donors—has kicked back into gear. They helped him gather names of other likely allies. Party activists and leaders in the early nominating states began getting calls from blocked phone numbers. National leaders in Washington won invitations to meetings at his official residence, the Naval Observatory. The compound's closest entrance is a quick 10-minute walk from the front door of Clinton's house in the District.

These were nominally private sessions, but details leaked to reporters almost instantaneously. Biden met on Aug. 22 with Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts, a populist firebrand who disappointed the left wing of her party when she refused to challenge Clinton. Two days later, over lunch with President Obama, Biden discussed the rigors of a 2016 race. No promises were made and no endorsements offered, but Obama did give Biden his blessing to move forward with a campaign if that's what he really wanted. That night, Biden had the first of a series of brainstorming sessions at the Observatory. His first guests were Obama's former communications maven, Anita Dunn, and her husband Bob Bauer, who worked as Obama's campaign and White House counsel. They discussed how to talk about an economy that is improving, albeit slowly, for the middle class, a longtime interest of Biden's and perhaps a hint about the message of a nascent campaign.

**AND YET EVERY CONVERSATION** leaves Biden's loyalists less certain about his intentions. Some have given up trying altogether. State representative Dan Eaton, for instance, was huddled with fellow New Hampshire Democrats in

DOUG MILLS—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

# JUST ASK

*Add gelato to my shopping list.*

*How is traffic?*

*What's on my calendar today?*

*Set a timer for 3 minutes.*

*Play my "New Artists" Playlist.*

*What's the news today?*

*What's the weather like this weekend?*

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search of a way past a budget stalemate when one leaned forward: "What's going on with the Vice President?" Eaton, perhaps Biden's biggest cheerleader in New Hampshire, told the truth: he knew as few specifics as they did. "If he jumps in," the co-chairman of Biden's 2008 run tells TIME, "I'll be with him." His fellow lawmakers turned back to their budgets. Like Eaton, they knew that caveat—the *if* that has hung around for so long that it threatens to become Biden's slogan.

After the 2012 campaign, some of Biden's allies encouraged him to start planning for 2016. Set up a political operation outside the White House, they told him. The Vice President said no. At the time, he said, Beau Biden, running for Delaware attorney general, needed the political cash more than Joe did, and it's tough to tell a dad to be selfish. Partly as a result, Biden lacks any form of political machine or funding network, let alone the type Clinton enjoys. Many of the logical figures to lead a Biden campaign are already working for Clinton. A pro-Biden super PAC is promoting Biden but cannot fill the void of the lack of a real campaign apparatus.

None of that erases Biden's deep interest in the job or the fact that this is his last shot at it. The Vice President has long believed he has the dealmaking skills that other senior Democrats lack. And in calls to activists, Biden sounds very much as though he has decided to run. Yet those who know him best warn that just because Biden wants to hear the argument for jumping in doesn't mean he will. Privately, aides said he worries deeply about the impact a race would have on his loved ones.

To join the race, Biden doesn't need to be convinced that he is guaranteed a win. That's not how American politics should be, he tells friends. But he needs to see that a campaign isn't hopeless, and there is some evidence for that. A Suffolk University poll of Iowa caucusgoers shows Biden carrying 11% support despite having done nothing in the state. Dave Nagle, who served in Congress from 1987 to 1993, cautions that the time Biden spent courting grassroots activists during his earlier bids may take the Vice President only so far. "Nobody made more friends," Nagle said, "and got fewer votes in the history of the Iowa caucuses." ◻

REPUBLICANS

## Trump target Scott Walker fights back by campaigning more like the Donald

BEFORE A FRIENDLY CROWD OF retirees in swampy Indian Land, S.C., Wisconsin Governor Scott Walker decided to tempt Donald Trump's lawyers. "With your help we can make this country great again," he told the roughly 200 attendees who sat on lawn chairs Aug. 24 under a shaded pavilion. The words, which he repeated twice, echoed Trump's slogan "Make America great again," which the real estate mogul has marketed on hats and trademarked to keep his rivals from using it.

But for Walker, the risk was worth taking. Trump has been eating away at Walker's poll numbers and tantalizing his fundraisers and supporters. Walker built his campaign on a melodramatic retelling of his courageous battles against the Wisconsin public-sector unions, but as Trump has risen, bolder and brasher than anyone around him, the governor has been overshadowed.

Now Walker is trying to turn the page. The new strategy: show Republicans that he can out-Trump Trump without losing himself.

In a donor call Aug. 18, Walker opened up to his supporters about his struggles. After a cautious performance in the inaugural GOP debate, he promised he'd show more energy and "urgency" on the stump.

Since then, he has pared back his everyman shtick, putting on a tie more often and dropping his tales about shopping for discount clothes at Kohl's. Rather than run from confrontation, as he often does with reporters, he engaged in a heated back-and-forth with a protester at the Iowa State Fair. "Republicans have been in charge of both houses of Congress since January, and there still isn't a bill on the President's desk to repeal Obamacare," he said, sharpening his attacks on his own party.

Walker has also pivoted to echo Trump's focus on China. As the stock market went tumbling in late August, he blamed China's devaluation of its currency, going so far as to call on President Obama to show "backbone" and disinvite Chinese President Xi Jinping from September's planned state visit.

The transition has not been seamless. On Aug. 17 he said he would support revising the 14th Amendment to the Constitution to scale back birthright citizenship—a radical idea reintroduced into the political bloodstream by Trump. Hours later, Walker backtracked, calling the discussion a distraction from the issue of border security while denying he'd shifted his position.

Walker denies that he is taking his cues from Trump. "Just because the media covers some candidates more than others doesn't mean the rest of us aren't talking about things," he said. It was just the sort of thing Trump would say.

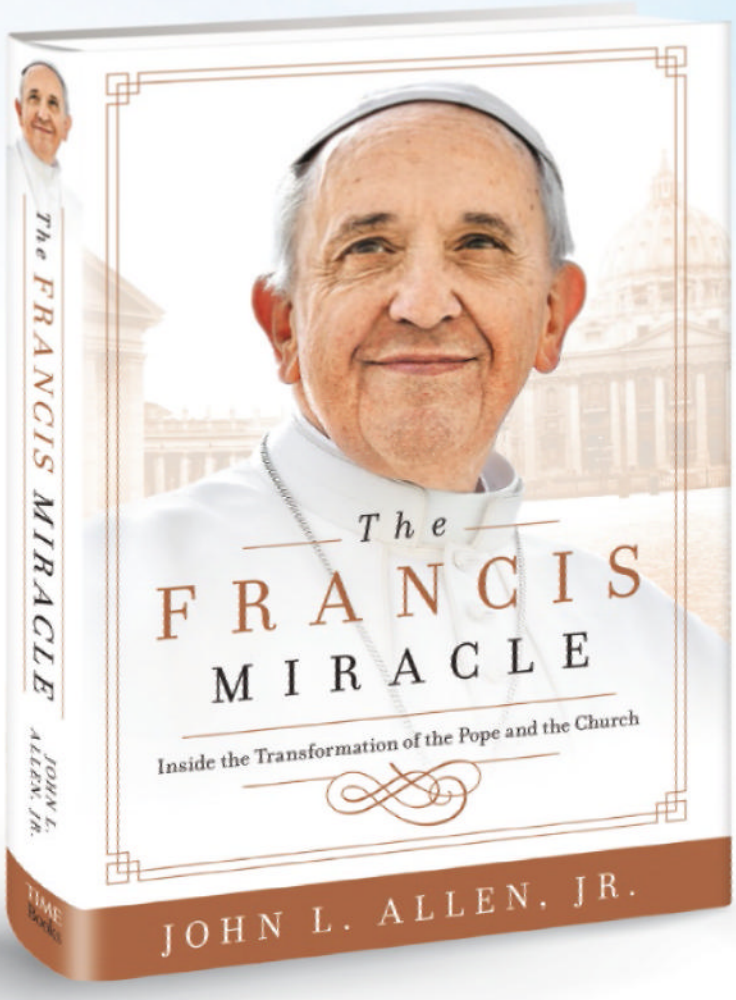
—ZEKE J. MILLER/ANDERSON, S.C.

*Walker speaks at an annual meeting of state lawmakers in San Diego*

AP

# Examples in Life and Leadership from Pope Francis

"*The Francis Miracle* is an excellent primer for those — conservative or liberal, religious or secular — who want to make sense of this pope as he progresses." – *Boston Globe*

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# No-man's-land

Police in Macedonia push back refugees attempting to enter the country from Greece on Aug. 21, one day after the small Balkan nation deployed its army to briefly seal border crossings. Some 44,000 people, most fleeing the Syrian civil war, have entered Macedonia over the past two months.

*Photograph by Georgi Licovski—EPA*

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# The View

*'WE WANTED TO REIMAGINE THE SCHOOL AS A PLATFORM FOR DELIVERING WELLNESS.'* —PAGE 36

*Since Katrina hit 10 years ago, New Orleans has worked to improve storm protection with projects like this rebuilt levee in the badly damaged Lower Ninth Ward*

NATURAL DISASTERS

## Billions have been spent to prevent the next Katrina. It's not enough

**By Bryan Walsh**

SCIENTISTS RANK HURRICANES according to the power of their winds—Category 5 hurricanes, the strongest possible, must have sustained winds greater than 155 m.p.h. (250 km/h). But the damage a storm does is a product not just of its strength but also where it hits. A powerful hurricane that never reaches land will be forgotten by everyone but meteorologists, while a relatively weak storm can wreak havoc if it strikes a heavily populated coastal city.

Hurricane Katrina—which made landfall in Louisiana 10 years ago on Aug. 29, 2005—was a dreaded double whammy: a Category 5 storm that scored a direct hit on what was perhaps the most vulnerable city in America. New Orleans' flood protections proved woefully incapable of standing up to Katrina. Storm surges higher than 20 ft. (6 m) breached nearly every levee in the metro area, leaving whole sections of the city and adjoining suburbs underwater. Over 1,500 people died in Louisiana alone, and the final damage toll was more than $100 billion, making it the costliest hurricane in U.S. history. If Katrina was a warning of the hell that can be loosed when the wrong storm meets the wrong place, the question now is, What have we learned in the decade since?

Ten years and tens of billions of dollars later, including $14.5 billion for a new storm-protection system, a rebuilt New Orleans is likely safer from hurricanes than it has ever been before. Which isn't to say that the Crescent City is safe. That's because in an age of global warming, storm protection is a moving target.

PHOTOGRAPH BY STEPHEN WILKES

Take the first part of the hurricane equation: the strength of the storm. A few weeks before Katrina struck, a professor of meteorology at Massachusetts Institute of Technology named Kerry Emanuel published a paper showing that hurricane power closely correlated with the temperature of the tropical Atlantic Ocean in hurricane seas—and that both had been increasing over the previous 30 years, thanks to a combination of natural climate variations and man-made global warming.

That quirk of academic timing led many to claim that climate change "caused" Katrina. Not true, but it's likely that the planet's warming has made hurricanes potentially stronger. The 2014 National Climate Assessment found that hurricane-associated storm intensity and rainfall rates are expected to increase as the climate continues to warm—which it will as long as greenhouse-gas emissions keep rising. That raises the chance that coastal cities like New Orleans will have to deal with stronger storms in the future.

But the strength of storms to come is less worrisome than our inability to defend against them. When Hurricane Sandy arrived in New Jersey on Oct. 29, 2012, it wasn't technically a hurricane—its wind speed had fallen below the necessary sustained velocity of 74 m.p.h. (120 km/h). Yet Sandy caused nearly $70 billion in damage, not so much because of its winds but because of coastal storm surges, which led to the widespread flooding of some of the most valuable real estate in the world. And that flooding was worsened by higher sea levels—another result of climate change. In New York City alone, higher seas likely added an additional foot to Sandy's storm surges. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change projects that seas could rise as much as 30 more inches (75 cm) by 2100 if the world is unable to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions.

Given those twin dangers, you might think Americans would be less eager to live by the ocean. Yet more are moving there every day. Today, 123 million Americans—more than a third of the country—live in coastal counties, a figure that has grown by 39% since 1970. The insured value of residential and commercial properties in those counties now exceeds $10 trillion. That means more people and more money in harm's way, which can make the storms that hit more catastrophic. In 1926, for example, a Category 4 hurricane hit Miami, then a city of 100,000 people. It caused devastation, but if the same storm were to hit the much richer and more populous city today, the damages would be in excess of $160 billion.

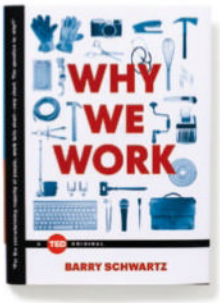
Properly shielding New Orleans or Miami or New York would cost far more than we've proved willing to pay. But failing to do so will mean entrusting the fate of our greatest cities to the luck of a storm, as the odds get worse with each passing year. ◻

**VERBATIM**

## 'It's never going to be trendy to be observant or religious in Hollywood.'

**MAYIM BIALIK,** practicing Jew and star of CBS's *The Big Bang Theory,* arguing that the entertainment industry isn't friendly to those who speak about their faith. "It really doesn't matter what I support or believe," she told Fox News. "The fact that I'm Jewish and go [to Israel] is enough" to elicit hateful comments.

BIALIK: AP; SKY POOL: ECOWORLD BALLYMORE; ILLUSTRATION BY MARTIN GEE FOR TIME



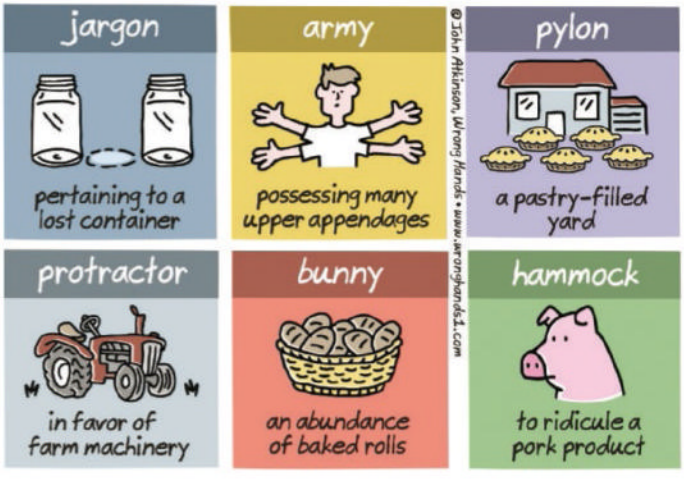

THE NUTSHELL

## *Why We Work*

IF BOSSES WANT TO MOTIVATE WORKers, conventional wisdom dictates a simple solution: offering a clear path to a raise, promotion or other reward. But psychology professor Barry Schwartz argues that such tactics can actually hurt performance. The most valuable employees, he writes, are those who work because they want to do well, not to check boxes: great teachers don't just "teach to the test," great doctors don't just order profitable procedures. It's on managers, then, to foster that impulse—keeping job descriptions general, for example, so workers think holistically about their goals. Of course, good work should be rewarded, financially or otherwise. But, Schwartz writes, "there is no substitute for the integrity that inspires people" to go above and beyond on their own. —SARAH BEGLEY

CHARTOON

## Phonetically defined




JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

BIG IDEA

## Sky pool

It's a bird! It's a plane! It's … a person swimming laps? This may well occur in London, where design firm Arup Associates released plans for a 90-ft.-long (27 m) pool suspended 10 stories up between two residential buildings in the city's Nine Elms neighborhood. (Construction is set to wrap in 2019.) Once completed, however, the so-called sky pool won't be open to everyone—just residents of the Embassy Gardens luxury apartment complex. The price of admission: at least $940,000 per unit.

—*S.B.*

QUICK TAKE

## Why the dating game is rigged—against women

**By Jon Birger**

TRY NOT TO TAKE IT PERSONALLY IF YOU are a single, college-educated woman and it feels as if all the decent guys are taken. The problem is not you. It's the demographics.

Women have been graduating from college in greater numbers than men for years, but this progress has come with a cruel and unexpected twist—a phenomenon I call "the man deficit." In 2012, 34% more women than men graduated from college, and by 2023, the U.S. Department of Education expects female grads to outnumber male ones by 47%. As a result, there are now four college-grad women for every three college-grad men among Americans ages 22 to 29.

These numbers represent a demographic time bomb for marriage-minded women (the heterosexual ones, at least). Of course, lopsided gender ratios would not matter if college-educated Americans were more willing to marry across socioeconomic lines. But research shows that most are not. "Classism is bigger than racism in dating," says dating coach and author Evan Marc Katz. Lopsided gender ratios alter behavior too by incentivizing men to play the field and delay marriage. Indeed, I believe that today's college and postcollege hookup culture is largely a by-product of the oversupply of women.

It's not just big-city millennials who are affected by shifting gender ratios. In Utah, for example, Mormon women outnumber men by a significant margin. The same is true in many Orthodox Jewish communities, creating a marriage crisis even among those who are religiously inclined to wed. "There are so many options for the men," one Mormon woman told me, "it's no wonder it's hard for them to settle down."

*Birger is the author of* Date-onomics: How Dating Became a Lopsided Numbers Game

ROUNDUP

## PECULIAR PATENTS

Microsoft made waves with its latest patent filing: electroshock clothing that jolts the wearer upright, ostensibly to correct bad posture. But Microsoft is not the only major company harboring unexpected innovations (which may or may not become commercially available).

### PEPSI'S 3-D-PRINTED POTATO CHIPS

In an effort to offer unprecedented crunch, "we have patents on the design, the cutter [and] the mouth experience," Dr. Mehmood Khan, PepsiCo's chief scientific officer, has said.

### GOOGLE'S LIFELIKE TEDDY BEAR

This sensor-laden toy, whose patent was awarded in May, has eyes that can track a user's movement and ears that perk up when she speaks. It can also take verbal commands and send them to media devices like TVs.

### AIRBUS' BULLET PLANE

Per a patent awarded in August, this craft would be an "ultra-rapid air vehicle" that hurtles passengers to a top speed of 1,300 m.p.h. (2,090 km/h), or roughly twice the speed of sound. Engineers will have to work fast, though: the patent expires after one year.

—*Dan Kedmey*

# How to make schools better for kids

By Alexandra Sifferlin

IT'S A TOUGH TIME TO BE A kid in America: playtimes are getting shorter, piles of homework are getting taller, obesity rates are sky-high and there's not enough time to sleep well (at least for middle and high schoolers). In the past, policymakers, medical professionals and federal officials have tried to fix these issues by educating parents on the importance of healthy eating and encouraging them to set limits on screen time. But experts are increasingly looking to effect policy changes in the places kids spend the bulk of their waking hours: schools.

In recent years, U.S. schools have started to experiment with a variety of reforms designed to make students happier, healthier and better prepared to live and eventually work with people of all backgrounds. Of course, realizing these goals is by no means easy, especially amid widespread budget cuts. (Most public schools are getting less state funding than they were before the recession.) And even though debates over issues like teachers' unions and Common Core are sure to get more attention as the 2016 election nears, some innovators are making headway with fresh ideas that are starting to stick—and may even scale—in American classrooms.

## Ditch traditional homework

Homework is crucial to the kind of learning done at the middle- and high school level, but new research suggests that elementary students do not tangibly benefit from doing after-school work with their parents. With that in mind, several schools, like Gaithersburg Elementary in Maryland, have ditched it for a simpler task: read whatever you want for 30 minutes a night. Although it's too early to judge the results, principal Stephanie Brant says students seem to be much more engaged in class since Gaithersburg started the program in 2011, adding that many are performing "at higher levels" than students in years past who did traditional homework.

## Make recess mandatory

At a time when adolescent obesity rates are quadruple what they were 30 years ago, experts say it's time to start thinking about recess not as a break but instead as a rare opportunity for kids to move around, which is good for body and mind. During seven-hour school days, physical activity helps kids "recharge their brains," says Avery Faigenbaum, who teaches pediatric exercise science at The College of New Jersey. And yet, in the past few years, some 40% of U.S. school districts have reduced or eliminated recess to make time for more academics and test preparation. One workaround: incorporating fitness into everyday classroom lessons, as some Bronx schools are doing.

## Screen kids for mental illness

Most elementary-school students are routinely screened for vision and hearing, but there's no protocol for detecting psychological issues. That means kids with conditions like anxiety and depression can go undiagnosed for years, delaying treatment and exacerbating symptoms. Boston's public-school system is trying to prevent that. Twice a year, students are evaluated on social, emotional and behavioral functioning; those in need get in-school resources like psychologists as well as referrals for outside care. "We really want to make a difference," says Andria Amador, who helped launch the program in the 2012–13 school year.

PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY TOM DALY—VMDO ARCHITECTS; ILLUSTRATIONS BY LAURA BOHILL FOR TIME

## Design cafeterias that encourage healthy eating

Many U.S. schools now offer healthy food options, but getting kids to bite is tough; students who buy school lunches opt for fruits or veggies only about half the time, and even fewer actually eat them, according to findings from the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health. In an effort to curb that trend, Buckingham County K-5 public school in Dillwyn, Va., redesigned its kitchen *(left)* so kids can see fresh foods as they are being prepared. The school also encourages kids to grow produce in the school garden. "We wanted to reimagine the school as a platform for delivering wellness," says Dr. Matthew Trowbridge, who helped develop the project. Early data shows students are actively using the new features, even without prompting.

## Prioritize diversity

For minorities and white students alike, studies show that attending a diverse school can lead to higher academic achievement and better preparation for real-world work environments. And yet a series of Supreme Court decisions has allowed most integration plans to dissolve, leaving schools across the U.S. more segregated than they were in 1968. Several states are trying to reverse that trend. Connecticut is beginning to make progress through a network of magnet schools that attract kids of different backgrounds. For the 2012–13 school year, its classes were 30.2% white, 31.4% black, 30.5% Latino and 4.4% Asian—well above the national average for diversity.

## Turn discipline into dialogue

Punishments like detention or getting sent to the principal's office remove problematic kids instead of addressing what made them misbehave in the first place. Not so at Durham Community School in Maine, where teachers emphasize dialogue as discipline. If a kid jumps around during class, for example, the instructor will ask him to offer up his own idea on how to correct his disruption (standing for 10 minutes during a lesson, perhaps). This approach, developed by psychologist Ross Greene, was implemented in 2011. During the 2012–13 school year, there were just eight recorded instances of classroom disruption, down from 103 during the school year when the program started.

## Let students customize their curriculums

Kids have always learned best when they get personal attention. Now more than ever, that attention is coming in part from computers—and often to great effect. One leading tool (with more than 10 million users) is Knewton, a virtual platform that adapts to a student's needs in real time. If he is struggling with a math concept, for example, Knewton will recommend a set of problems to help him understand it, based specifically on his learning strengths. The goal for K-12 schools is to replicate the success Knewton has had in higher education, where its products have led to better pass rates.

## Start classes after 8:30 a.m.

In order to stay healthy, adolescents need at least eight hours of sleep each night; deprivation can lead to weight gain, focus issues, lower academic performance and other problems. But biologically, adolescents are hardwired to stay up late, often until 11 p.m. or midnight. That's why federal officials and medical experts are calling for middle and high schools to start later—at or after 8:30 a.m. (Right now, fewer than 1 in 5 do.) On that schedule, 60% of students will get at least eight hours of sleep, according to findings from the University of Minnesota. That's a significant improvement over most of their peers.

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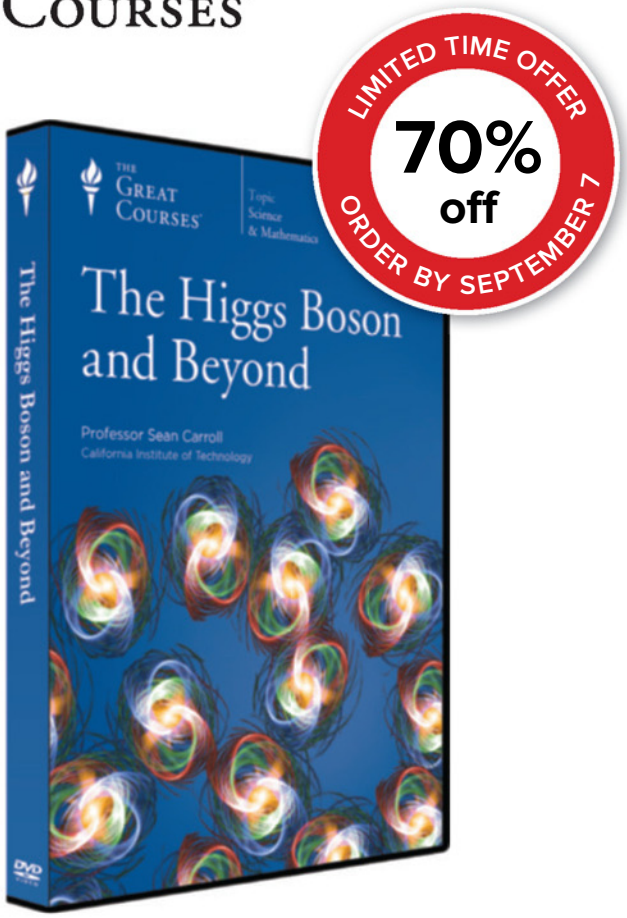


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IN THE ARENA

# The price and promise of Hillary Clinton's wobbly summer

**By Joe Klein**

ON AUG. 18, ON A BARE INDOOR BASKETBALL COURT IN North Las Vegas, Nev., Hillary Clinton held a press conference. It lasted 10 minutes, and it wasn't pretty. Almost all the questions were about the controversy of the moment: her private email server and whether she used it to send or receive classified information. She seemed frustrated by the grilling, a bit testy, and at one point, when Ed Henry of Fox asked her if she had "wiped" the server, she flashed sarcastic: "You mean, with a cloth?" It was noted that she was wearing—insert giggles here—an orange (is the new black) pantsuit.

And then the extrapolation began: Clinton was on the ropes, she was slipping in the polls, she was obfuscating, she was being legalistic, a classic Clinton misdemeanor. Her trustworthiness numbers had gone south; she was losing in battleground states against people like Jeb Bush and Marco Rubio. Donald Trump was actually beating her—by a slim digit—in Michigan. A white knight, Vice President Joe Biden, loomed to save the Democratic Party from this embarrassment.

Clinton has seemed rather wobbly this summer to a new generation of journalists—and citizens—who know only the myth of the Clintons: a brilliant, undefeatable political juggernaut. But the Clintons have always been a high-wire act. There have always been press conferences like the one in Las Vegas; there have always been crises like the server—indeed, some have been much worse. Many Americans first met Hillary Clinton when she seemed to dismiss women who "stayed home and baked cookies." Many Americans met her for the second time in a *60 Minutes* interview, defending her philandering husband and saying she wasn't just some little Tammy Wynette standing by her man. The Clintons, in essence, were the Donald Trumps of their time: you just didn't say, or do, the things they said and did, and survive in American politics. You didn't have bimbo eruptions. You didn't get caught trying to avoid military service. And for a time it seemed the press was right: in the spring of 1992, Bill Clinton had locked up the Democratic nomination but was running third behind George H.W. Bush and Ross Perot. He was pretty much a laughingstock, but three months later, Perot was toast and Clinton had rebirthed himself by naming young, dynamic Al Gore as his running mate.

So if you're Hillary and you're fretting through a hostile press conference in Vegas, here's what's going through your mind: Here we go again. Another cycle of dust and blather to be endured … and I sure hope I didn't put anything stupid on that server … and if it turns out that something minimally or temporarily classified—my itinerary for the Pakistan trip—was erased, how much of a problem is that?

Smart politicians have a different sense of chronology than journalists. They are not concerned with "winning the day" or the week. They know that the memory of the public is an eyelash in the wash of time. When the Monica Lewinsky story broke, I watched esteemed colleagues predict the imminent defenestration of Bill Clinton. Clinton figured he could wait it out, and he did. By the time he admitted what the true nature of *is* was—and boy, was that embarrassing!—the public had moved on. Why? Because he had balanced the budget and the economy was rocking along, and we were at peace in the world. His approval rating was above 60%, far higher than those in the press and Republican Party trying to get him.

And so, if you are—say—Bill Clinton and you are looking at the state of your wife's campaign on Labor Day 2015, you might evaluate it this way: Well, it hasn't been a terrific summer, but it could have been worse. Donald Trump has been a blessing, soaking up all the attention and outrage as Hillary stumbled about trying to find her comfort zone. Bernie Sanders has been a blessing too. Yes, he's been drawing big crowds, but he's still calling himself a socialist—how silly and self-defeating is that?—while mostly taking standard liberal reform positions that Hillary can sand down and make acceptable to moderates. She's already doing it on financial reform and college tuition.

**IF YOU'RE HILLARY CLINTON,** it's good news that the left wing of the party has had a summer safety valve; it's probably better news that Joe Biden is thinking about getting in. Biden will only split the anti-Hillary vote; and there are the legions of teachers, single moms, the blacks and Latino women who latch on to her ever more strongly when it appears she's being picked on or held to a higher standard by men. Plus, there's always the advantage that comes from wingnut overreach—the smug of war, the same sort of people who accused her in 1994 of complicity in Vince Foster's suicide or making a fortune off

**THE POLLS OF AUGUST**

A *Wall Street Journal* poll showed Clinton's **support waning in the key demographic** of white, college-educated women, with 51% viewing her favorably in June but only 43% in July

A late-August Suffolk poll showed Clinton **leading among Iowa Democrats** with 54% and Bernie Sanders at 20%—though most also say the email flap will hurt her in the general election

REUTERS

of Whitewater (she lost money). They inevitably blow so much hot air into their balloons—think Benghazi—that they explode in their faces or whiz off into the ether, trivial and incomprehensible.

But does that mean there is nothing to worry about? Hardly. Hillary Clinton is a tough politician but not an especially artful one. There is the eternal problem of her standoffish paranoia, the instinct to walk out of the North Las Vegas gym instead of just taking questions until some marginally responsible journalist gets bored and decides to change the subject.

It is a mistake she has made throughout her public life, from Whitewater to the email server: Why didn't she turn it over months ago? The same can be said—and more seriously—about the Clinton Foundation: Why did she allow it to accept contributions from foreign governments when she was Secretary of State? And why does she meet the press so infrequently if there isn't, as she insists, something to hide?

I got a glimpse of how Clinton wants to portray herself in July, when she responded on the record to her husband's contention that years ago, she didn't want to run for office, that she saw herself as "too aggressive and nobody will ever vote for me."

"True story," she told me. "Bill always saw his future in politics. I saw myself as more of an activist than a politician, working for the Children's Defense Fund … That's how I thought I'd contribute."

In the Democratic Party, the job of "activist" is nearly as sanctified as "community organizer." It is a good move, in a primary, to identify yourself as such. But there are contradictions. Why does Hillary the "activist" seem so much a pol when it comes to saying yea or nay on the Keystone XL pipeline? And on the plus side: How many "activists" are willing to be as tough and candid with the Black Lives Matter group—the video of her confrontation with them, her refusal to gloss over complex issues of race and class, was her finest moment of the campaign. It was about the only time she didn't seem rote.

But there have been too few fine moments, and a new stage of the campaign begins now. The GOP field is about to contract. Donald Trump's 25% or so won't seem so formidable—or newsworthy—when the race gets down to Trump plus Jeb Bush and player to be named later. There will still be the rush of garbage thrown her way. The press will assume the worst—she's earned that over time—and the public will not take the trouble to hash through the complexities.

But the public will watch for the simple things: a clear answer on Keystone, the candor to tell young black activists painful truths. She can do this, if she chooses to—the mystery is why she doesn't more often. □

*Hillary Clinton answered questions about her emails at a July 28 campaign stop in New Hampshire*

# The high stakes of Clinton's email scandal

**By Massimo Calabresi**

DAYS BEFORE HILLARY CLINTON WAS SWORN in as the 67th Secretary of State on Jan. 21, 2009, her staff took a server Clinton was using as Senator and created an email domain on it. An aide gave Clinton the address HDR22@clintonemail.com and created other accounts for a handful of family members and close aides. Clinton says she used this address exclusively for all her government and personal emails while serving as Secretary, setting the stage for a scandal that has come to dominate her campaign for the presidency.

**How did the scandal start?** In August 2014, more than a year after Clinton left office, House Republicans investigating the 2012 terrorist attacks in Benghazi, Libya, raised questions about Clinton's use of private emails. A Vice reporter, Jason Leopold, requested that her work-related

BRIAN SNYDER—REUTERS

ones be released under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) and later sued the State Department for moving too slowly. The department asked Clinton and other former Secretaries of State to hand over private emails that contained government business from their tenure.

Clinton tasked her personal lawyer, David Kendall, and his team with going through 62,320 emails on the personal server and separating work emails from personal ones. On Dec. 5, 2014, Clinton turned over 30,490 work emails to State; she erased the rest, saying they were personal. The server itself remained in the New Jersey office of a small Colorado-based firm, Platte River Networks, that the Clintons hired to manage their email after she left office in February 2013.

The State Department and the intelligence community have been reviewing and releasing Clinton's work emails over the past eight months. So far they have found potentially classified information in 305 of them. The FBI is now investigating whether Clinton's unorthodox email arrangement exposed government secrets, and it has taken possession of Clinton's server and thumb drives Kendall used to store copies of the emails.

**Was it legal?** There was nothing illegal in Clinton's setting up the private server and choosing to do all of her government emailing on it. Senior officials, including former Secretary of State Colin Powell, have used private email for government business. But to keep a good record of the public business, the National Archives discourages federal employees from using personal email for work, and no one has ever had an arrangement as elaborate as Clinton's.

More important, if the setup was O.K. on paper, in practice Clinton and her aides could have violated multiple laws in how they used it. For starters, it is a crime to willfully destroy government records; if any work emails were improperly erased, Clinton could be in trouble. Already, 15 documents independently handed to the Benghazi committee by Clinton adviser Sid Blumenthal are reportedly absent from the emails she gave to State. Clinton has sworn under penalty of perjury that she has handed over all her work emails, and aides say she complied with record-keeping rules by copying aides on their State-run emails.

Then there's the matter of government secrets. There are numerous laws criminalizing the mishandling of classified information. The broadest makes it a crime to "knowingly" remove classified materials from secure locations and store them in unauthorized ones. Certain types of secrets are especially closely guarded. Two of the emails flagged by State contain information that some intelligence officials believe should have been classified as top secret because it was derived in part from overhead eavesdropping platforms like satellites or drones. Intelligence officers squirm if you so much as ask them about such technological assets, and it is a crime to mishandle the secrets they produce "in any manner prejudicial to the safety or interest of the United States."

None of the emails was marked classified at the time, say the inspectors general of the State Department and the Intelligence Community, and Clinton aides say there is no evidence that she knowingly mishandled secrets. Even if her email use wasn't criminal, Clinton or her aides could have broken federal rules that punish "negligently" mishandling secrets with revocation of officials' security clearances.

**Has Clinton been consistent in her comments about the case?** Yes and no. At first she said she set up the server so she would have to use only one device; then it emerged that she carried not just her signature BlackBerry but also an iPhone, an iPad and an iPad Mini. Clinton claims that State released her emails only because she asked them to; in fact, she made a virtue of necessity in the face of Leopold's FOIA case. She said none of the emails were classified; now she says they weren't classified when they were sent and received. Her repeated accusations of partisan Republican motives behind the investigations are undercut by the fact that it is the Obama Administration that is probing her server.

But it is also true that Hill Republicans are broadening their investigations into Benghazi and potential conflicts of interest between Clinton's work as Secretary of State, Bill Clinton's charitable foundation and a firm run by his former aide Douglas Band. Those who know Clinton say her handling of the email affair reveals her lawyerly instinct for control. One irony is that her effort to shield her work and private life may result in even greater exposure.

**What's the likely fallout?** The U.S. produces more than 77 million classified communications a year and, awash in secrets, regularly loses really important ones to leaks and hackers. As a national-security matter, Clinton's potential breaches are comparatively inconsequential. But former CIA chiefs John Deutch and David Petraeus, among others, have paid a price for knowingly mishandling secrets: Deutch intentionally took some home on an unsecure computer and had his security clearance revoked in 1999. Petraeus gave his lover Paula Broadwell secrets for use in a biography of him; he pleaded guilty in April to a misdemeanor and paid a fine of $100,000. Absent evidence she knowingly mishandled secrets, for Clinton the penalty is likely to be political. ◻

*Dr. Arghavan Salles, 35, photographed as a surgical resident at Stanford Health Care*

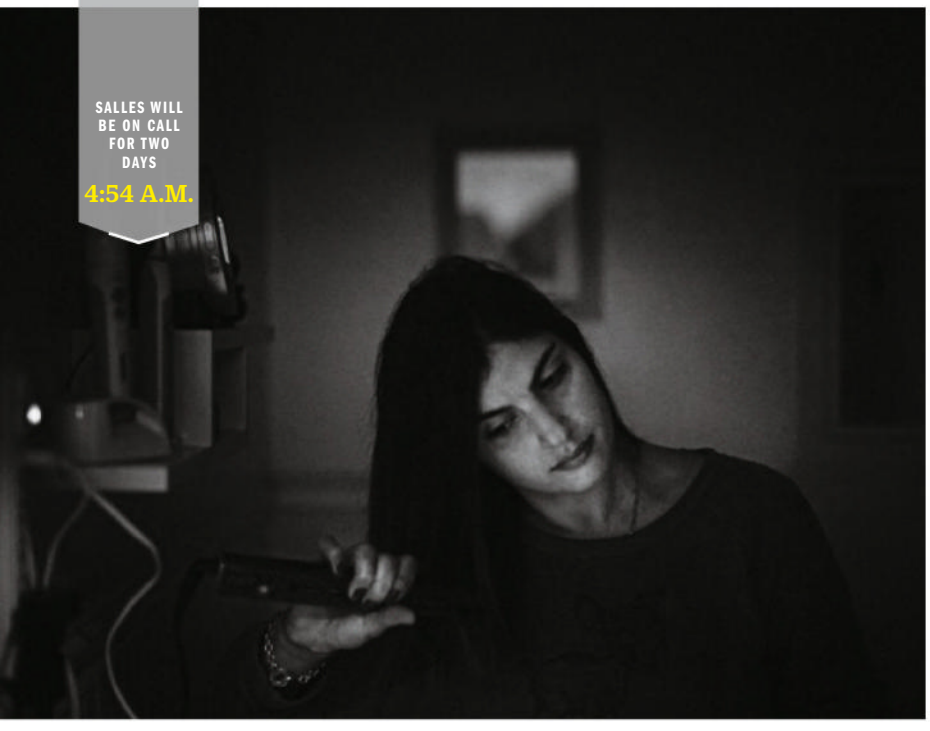
*TIME* IN DEPTH > DOCTORS ARE STRESSED, BURNED OUT,

DEPRESSED, AND WHEN THEY SUFFER, SO DO THEIR PATIENTS.

# Life/*SUPPORT*

## INSIDE THE MOVEMENT TO SAVE THE MENTAL HEALTH OF AMERICA'S DOCTORS

*By Mandy Oaklander / Photographs by Balazs Gardi for TIME*




**4:54 A.M.:** *In her Menlo Park, Calif., home, Salles straightens her hair and gets ready for work*
**6:35 A.M.:** *During rounds at Santa Clara Valley Medical Center in San Jose, Calif., Salles checks on a patient who is recovering from surgery*
**2:44 P.M.:** *The surgical team prepares a patient in the operating room for laparoscopic surgery*
**5:54 P.M.:** *They find a larger-than-expected tumor and switch to a longer open surgery*

AMERICA'S FUTURE DOCTORS LOOK TIRED TONIGHT. Sixteen medical students, most of them in their third year, sit slumped on the lab-room chairs at Stanford Hospital. Short white coats and stethoscopes are stashed near the eyewash station. Nearly all of them have a coffee cup in front of them. They've been here for 13 hours—their surgery rotation began at 3 a.m.—but there's one more requirement for the day. It's a pilot program called Reflection Rounds, four mandatory sessions designed to improve the abysmal mental health of physicians in training.

Chaplain Dr. Bruce Feldstein runs Stanford's program. Feldstein was a successful emergency-room physician before a back injury forced him to slow down at work. That's when he realized he was burned out. Feldstein knew what depression felt like. So when he noticed the telltale signs creeping up on him, he decided to trade in his white coat for a *kippah* and tend to the spiritual and emotional needs not just of patients but of doctors too.

In tonight's session, Feldstein wants the med students to talk frankly about what they've encountered in the hospital. (He promises the students confidentiality at Reflection Rounds, and we have respected their privacy by omitting their names.) "Maybe it's something that's really just horrible to watch," Feldstein says to the group. "Who do you get to talk about that with? Perhaps you feel you may be all alone in it."

One student says he got a negative evaluation for playing tic-tac-toe with a child who'd undergone brain surgery. "Needs to prioritize better," he tells the group of his write-up. Another student, who has irritable bowel syndrome, says she got dinged for taking too long in the bathroom. Yet another says his co-workers brag to him about how little they sleep or how rarely they see their children.

This has long been the ordeal of a young doctor: overworked, sleep-deprived and steeped in a culture that demands that you suck it up. Everyone you meet, you think, might be smarter and more capable than you—and you're the only one struggling. One student tells the group that when she was shadowing a medical team as an undergrad, she saw a patient with terminal cancer and it gave her nightmares for weeks. This week, she says, she saw a similar case and felt nothing.

"Who else identifies with that?" Feldstein asks. All hands go up.

Experts warn that the mental health of doctors is reaching the point of crisis—and the consequences of their unhappiness go far beyond their personal lives. Studies have linked burnout to an increase in unprofessional behavior and lower patient satisfaction. When patients are under the care of physicians

with reduced empathy—which often comes with burnout—they have worse outcomes and adhere less to their doctors' orders. It even takes people longer to recover when their doctor is down.

Major medical errors increase too. One study of nearly 8,000 surgeons found that burnout and depression were among the strongest predictors of a surgeon's reporting a major medical error. Another study, this time of internal-medicine residents, found that those who were burned out were much more likely to say they'd provided suboptimal care to a patient at least once a month. Those are not great odds for patients, whose safety can be put at risk by a tired or stressed-out doctor; almost anyone who enters an academic hospital will be treated at some point by a resident.

Doctors' safety is also a concern. As many as 400 doctors, the equivalent of two to three graduating medical-school classes, die by suicide every year, according to the American Foundation for Suicide Prevention—the profession has one of the highest rates of suicide. "That's mind-boggling to me," says Dr. Colin West, an internist and physician-well-being researcher at the Mayo Clinic. "It's hard for me to imagine that the public thinks of physicians as being so mentally distressed."

And the stresses are not about to be reduced anytime soon. By 2025, the U.S. will have a shortage of as many as 90,000 physicians. That could translate into even more work for doctors who are already working too hard.

As a patient, you'd never guess that half of all American doctors are burned out, because the culture of medicine dictates that doctors show no weakness. But inside the field, concern is mounting and the calls for action are growing louder. In May, Dr. Ralph Greco, distinguished professor of surgery at Stanford School of Medicine, and Dr. Arghavan Salles, former chief resident of general surgery at Stanford, wrote an editorial in *JAMA Surgery* about the importance of resident physicians' mental health. Meanwhile, the Accreditation Council for Graduate Medical Education (ACGME)—the governing body for America's 9,600 residency programs—is scrambling to come up with a national program specifically designed to curb the epidemic of physician distress.

**IF THERE IS** a leading expert on doctor depression, it's probably Dr. Srijan Sen, a psychiatrist at the University of Michigan. When he was a medical student, a childhood friend, who was a resident, became paralyzed after jumping off a balcony in an attempt to take his own life. Two years later, another of Sen's friends, also a resident, died by suicide. That led Sen to pay attention to a problem most doctors prefer to ignore. He gathers every conceivable kind of

**46%**

**PERCENTAGE OF INTERNS WHO MEET DEPRESSION CRITERIA AT SOME POINT IN THEIR FIRST YEAR**

**7:35 P.M.:** *Salles calls her mom to cancel plans for dinner. The surgery, scheduled for four hours, lasts seven*

data related to depression—DNA from saliva, blood samples, sleep patterns tracked with a Fitbit—in an ongoing research project he calls the Intern Health Study. Sen now has data from more than 10,000 interns at 55 institutions. "The more biological findings we have, there will be less of a distance between mental illness and physical illness," he says.

Before their intern year, only about 4% of doctors have clinical depression—the same as the rate for the rest of the population. During internships, those rates shoot up to 25%. The first year after med school is of particular interest to Sen. Interns are paid very little, yelled at a lot and often earn none of the credit when things go well and all of the blame when mistakes happen.

"You move immediately after medical school, you don't know anyone there, you're $200,000 in debt, and then all of a sudden you start working 90 hours a week," says Dr. Douglas Mata, a researcher for the Intern Health Study who struggled with depression as an intern. "It can be a big shock."

In the 2013 Stanford Physician Wellness Survey,

*Salles returns home, brushes her teeth and reads a medical journal. She is on call for any overnight emergencies*

sleep-related impairment was the single strongest predictor of burnout and was highly associated with depression in physicians, says study author Dr. Mickey Trockel, a psychiatrist at Stanford whose patients are almost all physicians."In time, we'll look back and see this was insane, requiring physicians to do what they do on no sleep or very little sleep," Trockel says. "It's just dumb for everybody involved."

In hospitals all across the country, administrators and doctors are grappling with the issue of physical burnout at every stage of the profession. (As the Washington *Post* reported in August, Stanford also has a pilot under way to improve work-life balance for emergency doctors that includes providing meals, housecleaning and babysitting in exchange for long hours.) But sleep deprivation is still a rite of passage for residents, who work overnight and for days in a row to earn experience. The relentless pace may sound like the result of modern workaholism, but in fact it was baked into the idea of a residency, first introduced in the U.S. in 1889, says Dr. Kenneth Ludmerer, distinguished professor of the history of medicine at Washington University School of Medicine. Doctors wanted to formalize the graduate study of medicine through rigorous training standards. Residents, virtually all of them unmarried men, lived at the hospital.

It was a good financial deal for hospitals; residents worked long hours for free under domineering doctors they revered as gods. But the promise to these young doctors was clear: after residency, they'd be at the pinnacle of their professional skill level with a job that was societally revered.

The reality of being a doctor has changed dramatically since then. Doctors are no longer guaranteed the high-paying job of their dreams, and the profession doesn't earn the automatic respect and clout it once did. The workforce has changed too. Quality of life and work-life balance have become important to American professionals. And workplace hazing, in most professions anyway, is now more the exception than the rule.

But residency programs remain partly the same:

*'We'll look back and see this was insane, requiring physicians to do what they do on no sleep.'*

**DR. MICKEY TROCKEL**

long hours, low pay. On top of that, today's doctors have even more material to learn, more paperwork to fill out and far more patients to see. "These kids have a lot more to learn than what I had to learn," says Stanford's Ralph Greco. "There's so much more technology, interventions and tests we need to know about."

In an attempt to correct course, the ACGME, the residency governing body, made a landmark move in 2003: the group declared that the workweek for residents must cap at 80 hours per week, averaged over four weeks. In 2011 it added that first-year residents could work a shift no longer than 16 hours. Unfortunately, the move didn't improve physician well-being. According to a 2013 paper Sen published in *JAMA Internal Medicine,* young physicians were getting depressed at the same rates after the rules kicked in.

"In the mad rush to limit resident work hours," Ludmerer writes in *Let Me Heal,* his recent book about residency education, "the importance of the learning environment was generally overlooked, as if nothing else mattered but the amount of time at work."

**LONG HOURS ALONE** aren't to blame for the mental-health crisis afflicting doctors. The stigma against signs of weakness within the profession plays a role too. "Part of it is thinking about wellness as something for wusses," says Trockel, the psychiatrist.

That means that many who need help don't ask for it. Only 22% of interns who are depressed get any help, according to Sen's findings. That's troubling to Sen because depression, if monitored and treated, can actually add to a doctor's arsenal of skills. "Traits that can be seen as predisposing to mental illness are also ones that we really want in our doctors," he says. People prone to depression are more likely to be empathetic, for instance, and are more open to different experiences and willing to be vulnerable, he adds.

But that vulnerability is not welcome in the culture of modern medicine, where doctors at the bottom are often bullied by their superiors. Salles of Stanford says attending physicians, who are in charge of residents, may be kind to residents outside of a case, but they are less cordial in the operating room. "They're like some other monster," she says. "'What's the point of you? Why are you here? Can't you do something? If you're not going to help me, why don't you leave?'"

It's not just at certain schools. The mistreatment of people at the bottom part of the clinical team—third- and fourth-year medical students, interns and residents—has been a topic in medical literature for

**7:29 A.M.:** *The surgical team members relax as they catch up before seeing patients* **12:34 P.M.:** *Salles waits outside a patient's room while a nurse preps the patient for surgery* **3:22 P.M.:** *The team awaits X-rays from a patient injured in a car accident* **5:19 P.M.:** *Salles and other doctors eat a late lunch in a staff room. "Not a break room," Salles says. "There are no breaks."*

decades, and research by Sen and Mata confirms that it's still a problem. When asked about the toughest part of their first year as doctors, 20% of the interns in Sen's study mentioned the "toxic" culture of their program. Some people said the memory that stuck with them most was when an attending physician screamed at them and belittled them in front of their peers and made them cry.

"Hazing is real," says Greco, who says he was part of the problem. "I'm not proud of it, but it's true." Once a tough, unforgiving surgeon prone to bullying his residents, he now calls himself a repentant sinner.

His turnaround came with a phone call in 2010, when he learned that Greg Feldman, who'd just graduated from Stanford as chief surgery resident, had killed himself. "He was a star," Greco says. "It was just a matter of how high he'd go." Talking about Feldman still moves him to tears.

**IN 2011,** Greco, Chaplain Feldstein and a few other colleagues, including Salles, got together to discuss how to change things. "When people go somewhere new, they lose everything that was around them that supported them, and it's very natural to doubt themselves," says Salles. "I had this idea that we could have sessions where people talk to each other, and then it wouldn't be so lonely."

They put together a program at Stanford to promote psychological well-being, physical health and mentoring. Every week, one of the six groups of surgery residents has a mandatory psychotherapy session with a psychologist. Each senior resident mentors a junior resident, and residents are given time for team bonding. Young doctors rarely have time to go see a doctor of their own, so the wellness team issues lists of doctors and dentists it recommends. And there's now a refrigerator in the surgery residents' lounge, stocked with healthy foods. They call the program Balance in Life.

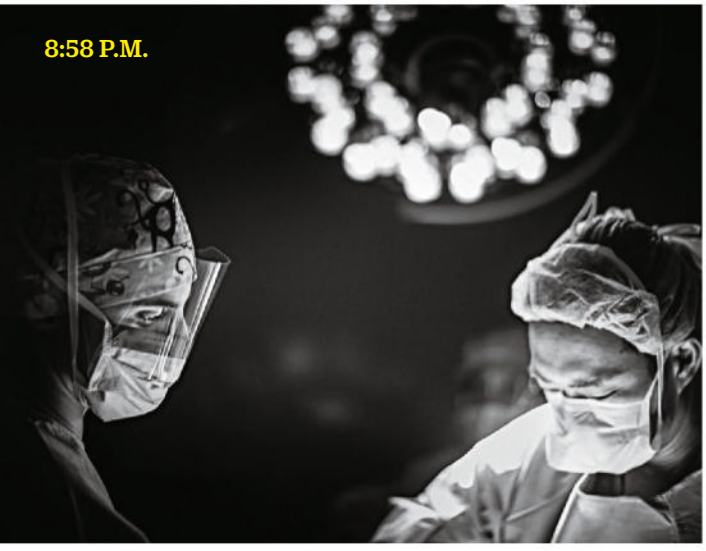
"We knew we couldn't necessarily prevent suicide—too complicated for us to solve it," Greco says. "But we needed to feel we did everything we could do to prevent it, if we could."

Greco didn't think that his little grassroots program could possibly be the best thing out there, so he emailed 200 surgery-program directors across the country and asked if they offered anything similar. "Not one answered me," he says. "And some of these people are my friends."

The fact that this is one of the most innovative resident-wellness programs anywhere in the country is "kind of pathetic," says Salles. And still, there isn't institution-wide support for the program at Stanford, she says. "There are definitely faculty members who think this is all a bunch of crap." She

**45%**

**PERCENTAGE OF PHYSICIANS WHO HAVE SYMPTOMS OF BURNOUT**



**8:58 P.M.:** *The doctors perform a minimally invasive surgery to remove a gallbladder* **9:36 P.M.:** *After surgery comes the paperwork. Salles reviews her patient checklist* **10:17 P.M.:** *Salles walks to her car to drive home at the end of her workday*

and Greco say they have to fight for every dollar allocated to Balance in Life. "I find it disturbing, although not surprising, that every time we talk about this program we have to say, 'There was someone who died, and that's why we need this.'"

Balance in Life, while rare, is not the only program of its kind. Dr. Michael Myers, a psychiatrist at SUNY Downstate Medical Center who for 20 years counseled medical students and physicians exclusively, used to run a program in which senior psychiatry residents give medical students free therapy as well as medication counseling, should they want or need it. That kind of peer-to-peer support goes a long way toward diminishing the stigma that asking for help is a sign of weakness.

"We have to keep reassuring them about there being a firewall between the counseling service and the dean's office," says Myers, who, like Sen, devoted his life to the topic because someone close to him in medical school killed himself. By the time SUNY psychiatry residents graduate, they will have looked after one or two less-experienced medical students.

The ACGME is looking to Balance in Life, among other programs, as inspiration for a new initiative it plans to implement across the country.

"There are a whole host of ways that we, as the ACGME, can influence the direction of things, and we just haven't done it," says Dr. Timothy Brigham, chief of staff and senior vice president for education for the group. No one knows exactly what the initiative will look like, but new rules could go into effect across all 9,600 U.S. residency programs as early as 2016.

"I want us to be able to deal with it, to have some constant attention on this and to do it so well that we don't have to have attention on it anymore," says Brigham. "We can look back and say, Why didn't we do this before?"

**IN A DARKENED ROOM** at Stanford, a bunch of first-year medical students are sitting in a circle, passing around a tall purple candle. Chaplain Feldstein opens the class—called the Healer's Art—by clinking together meditation chimes three times.

The students have just told the group, one at a time, about the first time they knew they wanted to be a physician. Now they've moved on to something a little more personal: they're telling the group which parts of themselves they don't want to lose as their work wears them down.

"Help me become a stronger and happier individual, because before I can truly focus on helping others, I need to be comfortable with myself," says one young man.

"Strengthen me so that I have the courage to be vulnerable," says a woman. "Help me to not forget that we are all human."

While administrators and doctors at the ACGME try to figure out what they can do to make the world of medicine a happier and healthier place to work—improving well-being for physicians while also making the profession safer for patients and appealing to more doctors—these are the lives on the line.

"I'm determined to do one thing: to make it the rule of the land," says Greco. "If there's another suicide and we're sitting here twiddling our thumbs, it's going to be brutal." ◻

PHOTO ABOVE RIGHT: PERSONAL INFORMATION HAS BEEN REDACTED FOR PRIVACY

END OF SALLES' SHIFT
10:17 P.M.

# RIGHT TURNS ONLY

## TED CRUZ'S RADICAL PLAN TO WIN THE WHITE HOUSE

BY ALEX ALTMAN/HOUSTON

**THE SOUTHEAST** is a strange place for a political pilgrimage. Presidential candidates favor states that are first or fickle, and the heartland of the Republican Party is neither. Yet for a week in August, Ted Cruz crisscrossed the Bible Belt, dropping in on churches and chicken joints in campaign backwaters like Birmingham, Ala.; Chattanooga, Tenn.; and Bartlesville, Okla. The first presidential debate had boosted his poll numbers and turbocharged his fundraising. Big crowds greeted him like a gridiron legend. But this was no victory lap. The Texas Senator has a new Southern strategy. Seven Southern states with about a third of the delegates needed to win the nomination are likely to be up for grabs on March 1, a Super Tuesday bonanza Cruz calls the SEC primary. So while rivals jockeyed for scraps of territory in Iowa and New Hampshire, Cruz barnstormed the nation's reddest precincts in a bus with RIGHT TURNS ONLY plastered above the bumper.

The message doubles as a campaign mantra. Rafael Edward Cruz, 44, has sought to position himself as the most conservative member of a very conservative field. In recent weeks alone, he has dismissed global warming as a fiction cooked up by government stooges, saluted Donald Trump for his rants against Mexican border crossers, called GOP Senate leader Mitch McConnell a liar and hinted at a fall standoff over Planned Parenthood funding that could once again shutter the federal government. "If you're running for President, you get to decide what your narrative is, and that narrative is a clarion call," says a senior adviser. "He's a 'f-ck the police' guy."

All this cage rattling is a conscious tactic. Most GOP consultants think the way to win the White House is to expand the party's contours, courting Hispanics, women, millennials and other Democratic-leaning groups. Cruz is convinced there are enough true believers to push a proven warrior into the White House.

"Voters should ask every candidate, Show me where you've stood up and fought," Cruz explains, digging into a double cheeseburger with jalapeños at a Whataburger outside Houston. The people who stop him on the campaign trail, he adds, all say the same thing: "Thank you for fighting for me. Nobody else is fighting for me."

The Texas Senator has likened this hard-line style to a "disruptive app." The pitch has attracted plenty of seed money—more than $50 million between his campaign and affiliated super PACs, a total that ranks second only to Jeb Bush's. Cruz boasts that he is the rare true conservative with the fundraising firepower and organizational muscle to slug it out with the GOP's Establishment favorites through a grinding national campaign. Instead of softening his rhetoric, he believes a pure conservative message can drive millions

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARK PETERSON FOR TIME

*Cruz believes his uncompromising style will lure disaffected conservatives back to the polls in 2016*

of disaffected white and evangelical voters back to the polls. The bet spooks Republican consultants, who see in Cruz's uncompromising candidacy the threat of ruin. "It's a huge gamble on the future of the party," says Ari Fleischer, a former White House press secretary who worked with Cruz on George W. Bush's 2000 campaign. "That's what's at stake."

**CRUZ DESCRIBES POLITICS** through a lens of perfect moral clarity. The characters in his narratives are good or evil, courageous or corrupt. His own story is more complicated. Cruz is a constitutional scholar who commands a populist army, a careful tactician who picks long-shot fights. The mystery that's most confounding is how a man who spent much of his professional life inside the clubby Republican establishment evolved into its fiercest critic. Cruz offers a simple answer. "I grew up a movement conservative. That's who I am," he says. "I don't have to fake it."

It was early July, the first day of the promotional tour for Cruz's newly released memoir, *A Time for Truth*. The candidate was savoring a rare moment of downtime between book signings in Texas. To unwind between campaign stops, he plays iPhone games like *Candy Crush* and *Plants vs. Zombies*. He trawls Twitter to read the invective hurled his way, sometimes chuckling as he quotes memorable insults aloud. He has a knack for mimicry, with a repertoire that includes impressions not only of statesmen like Churchill or John F. Kennedy but also of Homer Simpson, Darth Vader and Jay Leno. On Sunday nights, he plays cashier in a family game called Store, in which Cruz and his wife Heidi, who is on leave from her job as a managing director at Goldman Sachs to help the campaign, award toys to their two young daughters for good deeds they've done throughout the week.

In front of a crowd, Cruz is as disciplined a performer as anyone in politics. His stump speech, delivered without notes or teleprompter, is precisely honed, down to the canned jokes and the pauses for emphasis. When he preaches to the party faithful, Cruz ditches the lectern and roams the stage, carving up his targets in tightly constructed paragraphs. There are no rambling asides, no rhetorical stumbles. He sprinkles his speeches with social cues—*ain't*s and *God-bless-you*s and Chuck Norris jokes—that show the audience he's one of them. No Republican candidate has a better ear for the angst and anger of the party base.

And he is relentlessly on message. In late June, I watched Cruz work a Dutch bakery in Orange City, Iowa, where the specialty almond patties retail for $1.50. He sidled up to a pair of preteen girls playing a card game called Trash and made small talk about how neat it had been to come of age with Ronald Reagan in the White House. Even in private, says a Cruz campaign staffer, "I almost feel like I'm getting talking points."

Few politicians milk as much mileage from biography as Cruz. And not only his own. "When you're raised as a little boy with an aunt and a dad who were imprisoned and tortured," he explains, "standing and fighting for what you believe is drilled into your head from an early, early age." Cruz's father was a Cuban revolutionary who fought against Batista, fled to the U.S. with $100 sewn into his underwear, launched an oil business and has recently become an itinerant minister with a fervent Tea Party following. His mother was the first in her family to attend college, escaped clerical duties after graduation by refusing to learn to type and became a computer programmer instead. "Both of them demonstrated courage to stand up for principles," Cruz says, "even when there was a price to pay."

Cruz was born in Calgary, Alberta, where his parents worked in the oil industry, and moved to Houston as a child. Young Ted was still known as Felito when it dawned on his parents that they had an academic prodigy on their hands. At 13, he enrolled in an after-school program designed to inculcate the merits of free-market economics. By then his obsession with the Constitution had taken root. ("I was kind of a weird kid," Cruz writes in his book.) As a sophomore in high school, he joined a performance troupe that toured Texas, mesmerizing audiences by scrawling its text on easels from memory.

**After spending most of his career in the clubby Republican establishment, Cruz became its fiercest critic**

At Princeton, Cruz was a national debate champion. He went on to Harvard Law, where he relished the flak he received as a rare conservative rabble-rouser. "Even at Harvard he was the scourge of the Establishment," says Alan Dershowitz, a liberal law professor who recommended Cruz for his Supreme Court clerkship. "The constant has always been that he very much enjoys his role as a provocateur and as someone who stands for principle. I've warned my liberal friends: Do not think he is just an opportunist."

Cruz was so keen to succeed at his clerkship that he took tennis lessons to improve his game at Chief Justice William Rehnquist's weekly Thursday-morning doubles match. From there, Cruz spurned a bigger salary for a job at a small, politically connected Washington firm run by some of the conservative movement's top constitutional lawyers. One of his clients was Representative John Boehner, then the No. 4 Republican in the House.

The entrée to elite GOP circles led to Cruz's recruitment as one of the brainy "propeller heads" charged with crafting domestic policy for George W. Bush's 2000 presidential campaign. After the impasse on election night, he was dispatched to Tallahassee, Fla., to assist with the recount, joining the team of Republican superlawyers who clinched Bush's spot in the White House. But when it came time to divvy up the spoils of victory, Cruz was blackballed from the job he desperately wanted as a senior adviser to the President. His cockiness had rubbed powerful people the wrong way. "Ted was sharp, humorous, incredibly smart and with an ego to match," Fleischer recalls.

It was the first setback in a career that had been an uninterrupted string of successes. "I failed miserably," Cruz says, riding shotgun in the black Chevy Tahoe SUV ferrying him to another book signing in Texas. "And there was no one to blame but myself."

But it was also a gift of sorts, freeing him from the Republican establishment that became his foil. Cruz spent a few years bouncing around Washington before

PREVIOUS PAGES: REDUX; THIS PAGE: MARK PETERSON—REDUX FOR TIME

returning to Texas as his home state's solicitor general. When he considered running for attorney general in 2009, he was still tight enough with Texas bigwigs to wangle an invitation to Kennebunkport for a meeting with George H.W. Bush.

But when Cruz launched a long-shot bid for the U.S. Senate in 2012, he campaigned as a self-styled insurgent. The reinvention prompts some Republicans to suggest the party-crasher routine is an act Cruz created as he watched the GOP rank and file lurch to the right during the early years of the Obama presidency. From the time he arrived in the Senate in 2013, Cruz grasped that pariah status in Washington can be a powerful weapon, so he wears his colleagues' contempt as a badge of honor. His taste for skewering his own party often surprises even those familiar with his scorched-earth style. "The Senate, as bad as you think it is, it's worse," he tells voters. "They stand for nothing."

*Cruz pitches himself to GOP voters as the rare true conservative with the fundraising firepower to win*

**IF CRUZ'S POLITICS** are guided by gut, his campaign is ruled by data. Its headquarters, in a spacious suite with sweeping views of the Houston skyline, contains brightly colored nooks designed to inspire Google-style collaboration. At the front of the office, near a children's playroom strewn with teddy bears, sits a team of 12 data scientists working to divide primary voters into "psychographic clusters" on the basis of their personalities, interests and values. The goal is to determine their target audience and feed each segment a message calibrated to sway them.

It's all part of a strategy that chucks the old model for an insurgent campaign. "It is unlikely to be possible for a candidate to do what some candidates in previous decades have done," Cruz explains, "which is go camp out in an early state, spend a year there, throw a Hail Mary and get enough momentum to win the nomination." The party has compressed the 2016 primary calendar into a few months in order to limit the damage the race inflicts on the eventual nominee. But with so many hopefuls like Cruz raising so much early money, the prospects of a costly, drawn-out fight are now very real. And Cruz is digging in for the long haul.

The campaign describes the race as a series of "brackets," each of them mini-competitions for subsets of the GOP electorate. There is the Establishment bracket (with Bush, Chris Christie, John Kasich and others vying for supremacy), the libertarian bracket (a category of one: Rand Paul), the social-conservative contest (Mike Huckabee, Ben Carson, Rick Santorum) and the Tea Party crowd. Cruz's plan is to corner the market for Tea Party conservatives and compete for swaths of the evangelical and libertarian vote. And even if he stumbles in the first few states, he sees the cascade of Southern contests in March as an opportunity.

"It's entirely possible that one person wins Iowa, a different person wins New Hampshire, and a third wins South Carolina," Cruz says. "Which means then you're fighting trench warfare nationwide." If it all unfolds as planned, he expects to emerge around mid-March as the conservative alternative to the Establishment favorite.

"Don't underestimate him," says Republican strategist Ed Rollins. "I don't know whether he wins this thing or not, but he certainly is going to be someone who's in the top four or five and probably stays in to the end. He'll move out of this campaign as a leader in the party."

The strategy of staking out the most conservative position in every political skirmish may boost Cruz in a primary, but it often puts him on the wrong side of public opinion. His embrace of Trump is a case in point. Virtually every other GOP candidate has denounced the developer's inflammatory rhetoric. But Cruz takes a similar hard-line position against "amnesty" and hopes to scoop up Trump's supporters when their summer fling fades. It's all a reflection of Cruz's abiding belief that the most powerful force in politics is fidelity to principle. "When he takes on an issue," says campaign manager Jeff Roe, "we ain't backing up."

Cruz is a fan of the ancient Chinese military general Sun Tzu, whose famous aphorism holds that battles are won by choosing the ground on which they are fought. "What I ask activists to do is to pick the 10 or 12 most important fights of the last several years," Cruz says as his SUV wheels toward another book signing in Texas. On every big conservative battle, he says, from Obamacare to government spending to religious liberty, "I've been leading the fight."

History suggests the race for the presidency is more than a purity contest. But if the 2016 battle is waged on those grounds, it may favor the fighter who only turns right. ◻

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Photographed by Anders Overgaard
Supported by INGLOT Cosmetics

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# **Putin's Circle** The dangerous rise of Kremlin hard-liners

*By Simon Shuster/Moscow*

**GLEB PAVLOVSKY ARRIVED** for work as usual that day in the spring of 2011, walking up to the clock tower of the Spassky Gate, which serves as the entrance to the Kremlin fortress. This had been his routine during the first two terms of Vladimir Putin's presidency, when Pavlovsky had served as a top adviser on matters of domestic politics and propaganda. But on that April day, Pavlovsky discovered that his security pass would not open the gate.

"They just locked me out," he recalled this spring at his personal office, a shamble of books and papers on the top floor of a crumbling apartment block in central Moscow. Pavlovsky was hardly alone—in the years since his dismissal, many others have been discarded from Putin's staff in the same way, especially the more politically liberal members of the ruling class, the ones who wanted to stop Russia from tumbling backward into another Cold War with the West. For them the past few years have been a period of setbacks and humiliations—"a shriveling up," is how one Kremlin consultant put it—while the hard-liners in Putin's circle have seen their influence steadily expand.

Known in Russia as the *siloviki,* or "men of force," this coterie of generals and KGB veterans has come to fully dominate political life in Russia in the year and a half since the war in Ukraine ruptured Moscow's relations with the West. Their rise has contributed to what several current and former advisers to the Kremlin describe as an atmosphere of paranoia and aggression. Officials seen as sympathetic toward the West have been mostly sidelined and discredited, limiting the voices Putin hears on matters of national and global security. The result is a regime in Moscow that looks increasingly antagonistic to the West and appears prone to ill-considered and dangerous decisions. "Sometimes the old instincts kick in," says one of Putin's senior counselors, referring to the Cold War backgrounds of the officials who now dominate the Kremlin. "I'd say there is the danger of going backward."

That's bad for an increasingly isolated Russia, but it's dangerous for the entire

*Putin speaks in Moscow in March at an event marking the first anniversary of the takeover of Crimea*

PHOTOGRAPH BY MAXIM SHIPENKOV

world. Against the backdrop of the war in Ukraine, where Russian-backed militants have taken control of large patches of territory, both Russian and Western forces have dramatically ramped up their military exercises in Eastern Europe. The outcome "has been a game of Russian-instigated dangerous brinkmanship which has resulted in many serious close military encounters between the forces of Russia and NATO," said a report published on Aug. 12 by the European Leadership Network, a think tank that monitors security threats in the region.

Should a mistake happen, it is far from clear that cooler heads would prevail in the Kremlin—for the simple reason that there aren't many of them left in Putin's entourage. Sergei Naryshkin, a close Putin ally and speaker of Russia's lower house of parliament, suggested in a newspaper article on Aug. 9 that the U.S. is trying to goad Russia into war. In a warning to President Barack Obama, he wrote that it "wouldn't hurt the current and latest 'war-time' President of the USA to remember: if you sow the wind, you will reap the storm." Nikolai Patrushev, the head of Russia's Security Council and a 17-year veteran of the KGB, was even more direct in an interview published in late June. "They really want Russia to cease to exist as a nation," he said of the U.S. "Because we have enormous wealth, and the Americans think we have no right to it and don't deserve it."

Patrushev did not respond to numerous written requests for an interview with TIME, and most members of the *siloviki* have not spoken to the foreign media for years, which makes it difficult to properly gauge the opaque inner workings of the Kremlin. Yet watching these changes from a distance, Pavlovsky, like many other more liberal ex–Kremlin members, finds it hard to recognize the place where he worked just four years ago. Back then the Kremlin's staff had a far more diverse makeup—liberal economists, dowdy intellectuals, bureaucrats with Western bank accounts and children studying in Europe or the U.S. Taken together, their influence balanced the more bellicose men of the *siloviki,* whose persistent warnings of the American menace are now the only voices Putin hears. Says Pavlovsky: "We have a situation where the person who does not immediately raise his voice to a scream is seen as suspicious."

**BY THE SPRING OF 2012,** when Putin began his third term as President, Kremlinology—the esoteric discipline of studying Russian power politics—needed an overhaul. Among the first attempts to address the system's opacity came in the fall of 2012, when a well-connected Moscow political expert named Evgeny Minchenko, who has consulted for Putin's party, United Russia, created a diagram of the ruling class titled Politburo 2.0. His most recent one, published last fall, resembles a spider's web with Putin at the center. Clustered around him are various oligarchs, generals, spymasters and technocrats, their influence denoted by their proximity to Putin. Over the past year, he says, "the main trend has been an undeniable spike in the influence of the *siloviki.*"

What unites most members of Putin's Politburo are the personal bonds they developed with Putin years ago in their hometown of St. Petersburg. As he rose to power in Moscow—first to the leadership of the Federal Security Service (FSB), the KGB's successor agency, in 1998, then to the post of Prime Minister in 1999, and finally to the presidency in 2000—Putin brought his friends along. "He maintained that healthy sense of being one of the guys," said Anatoly Rakhlin, Putin's childhood judo coach. "He didn't take the Petersburg boys to work with him because of their pretty eyes," Rakhlin told the *Izvestia* daily in 2007, "but because he trusts people who are tried and true."

During Putin's first term as President from 2000 to 2004, the Kremlin was still full of holdovers from the administration of President Boris Yeltsin, and most of them were devoted to free-market reforms of the economy and collaboration with the West. Chief among them was Prime Minister Mikhail Kasyanov, who held the keys to Russia's budget. But over time, Putin's team from St. Petersburg took over the levers of power in Moscow, Kasyanov says. "By the time I left [in 2004], they were really divvying things up," he adds.

Most of the top jobs in the security services, the government and the powerful state corporations went to the members of Putin's St. Petersburg circle, which came to form the core of what Minchenko calls the Politburo 2.0. The structure of this body differs drastically from its Soviet incarnation. Whereas the old Communist Party bosses met regularly to decide the affairs of the state together, Putin keeps his circle divided into clans and factions that seldom meet all at once. This helps prevent any groups from creating a coalition against him, and it also "makes Putin indispensable as the point of balance," says Minchenko. "Without him the system doesn't work, because everyone is connected through him personally."

But there are major drawbacks. As the rival factions compete for Putin's attention, they tend to exaggerate the threats that Russia faces. The intelligence services, for instance, might overstate the threat from foreign spies, while the oil and gas tycoons might play up the danger of competitors in the energy market. When Putin meets separately with each of these factions, "he hears from all sides that there are threats everywhere," says the political consultant Kirill Petrov, who has worked with Minchenko in mapping the elites. "It's not a healthy atmosphere."

One of the figures in Minchenko's diagram, the senior counselor to Putin who spoke on condition of anonymity, concedes that this informal system of relationships breeds paranoia. But the system's bigger flaw is its total dependence on just one man. "It is power without institutions," says the adviser. "It means we have no solid ground beneath us." The state is Putin, and Putin is the state.

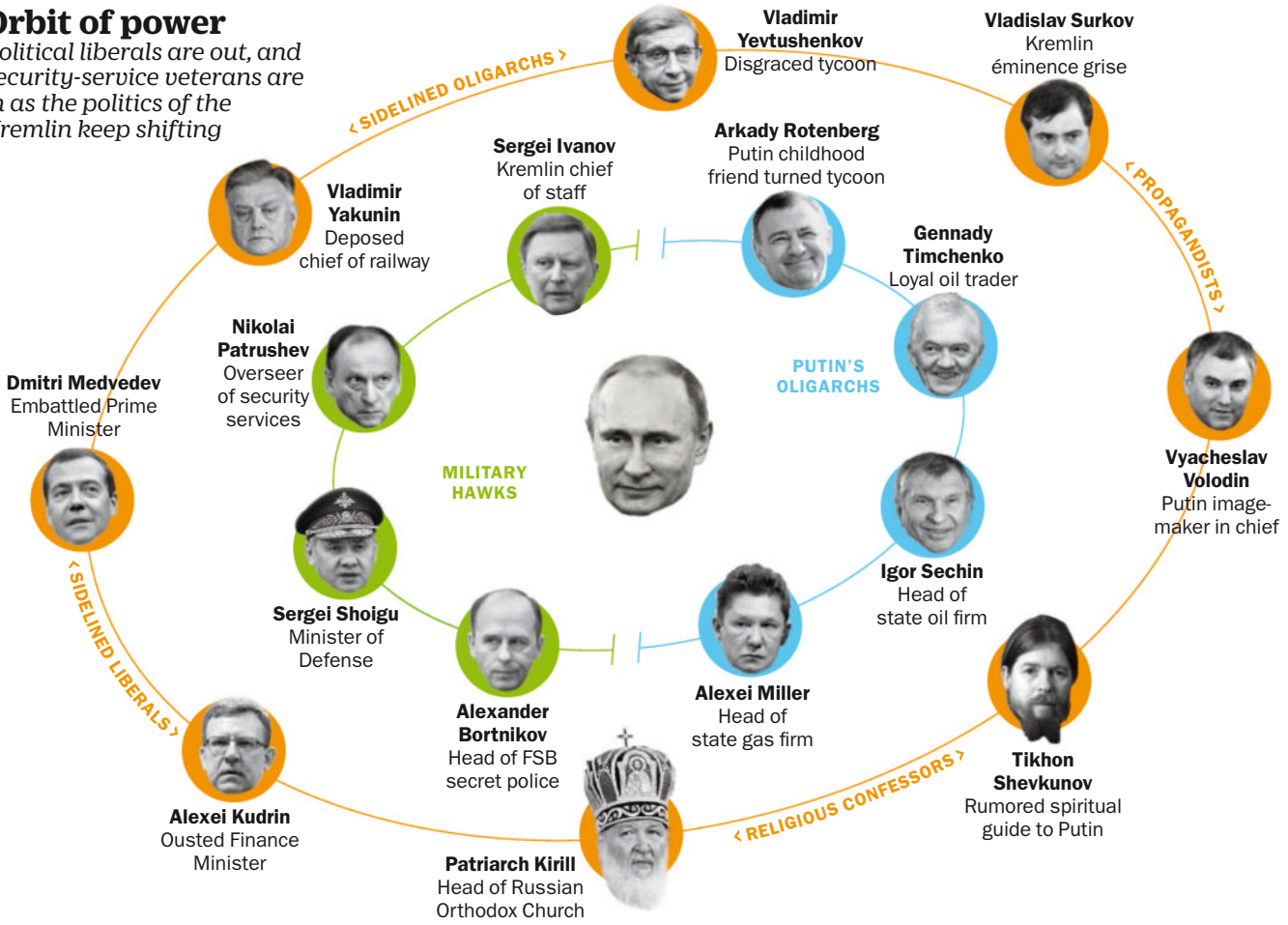
**BUT IF THOSE** closest to Putin are dedicated to their President, they're also dedicated to the spoils that come with power. And that's why Western sanctions imposed in response to the Crimean land grab have not only isolated the Russian economy but also personally targeted Putin's close associates, banning them from traveling or doing business in the West.

The logic of that punishment was simple. Most members of the ruling class in Russia—liberal or not—send their children to study in the West. They keep their fortunes in Western banks. They ski in the Alps, sunbathe in Miami and go shopping in Milan. For many of Putin's allies, it is not worth risking such privileges for the sake of any extraterritorial ambitions in Ukraine, says Kasyanov, the former Prime Minister. "Of course this makes people

PREVIOUS PAGES: THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

## Orbit of power

*Political liberals are out, and security-service veterans are in as the politics of the Kremlin keep shifting*




CLOCKWISE FROM TOP CENTER: YEVTUSHENKOV: REUTERS; SURKOV, VOLODIN: GETTY IMAGES; SHEVKUNOV: CORBIS; KIRILL, KUDRIN: GETTY IMAGES; MEDVEDEV: REUTERS; YAKUNIN, IVANOV: GETTY IMAGES; ROTENBERG: AP; TIMCHENKO, SECHIN, MILLER: GETTY IMAGES; BORTNIKOV: CORBIS; SHOIGU, PATRUSHEV, PUTIN: GETTY IMAGES

question their loyalties," he says. "Their lifestyles are at stake."

That would seem to be especially true for influential tycoons like Gennady Timchenko, a wealthy oil trader from Putin's St. Petersburg circle, whose personal wealth fell from $11 billion to about $4 billion last year, according to the Bloomberg index of billionaires. (The extreme drop in oil prices—now less than half what they were a year ago—has also weighed on many Russian tycoons.) But like many of his fellow oligarchs, Timchenko has supported Putin's policies despite the pain. "It's naive to think these methods can scare us, make us retreat," he said in an interview last summer with the state news agency Itar-Tass. "We'll bear it all and find a way out of these sanctions."

Far from peeling off Putin's allies, the sanctions have allowed him to tighten his grip on power. For the past few years, Putin has urged elites to store their fortunes in Russia instead of stashing them in offshore bank accounts. Many of them were slow to comply before the sanctions put their Western assets at risk of being frozen. Now the fortunes of the elites are tied that much more closely to Russia—which means they're tied to Putin.

So if Western leaders were hoping Putin's allies would mount a palace coup, they will likely be disappointed. The culture of suspicion has only intensified amid the standoff with the West. While the influence of the *siloviki* has grown, so has the number of subgroups vying to be recognized as the most loyal, the most effective at fighting Putin's enemies. The only way a new leader could emerge from among them is if Putin himself starts to groom a successor.

He has no need to do that anytime soon. The 62-year-old Putin is expected to run again when his six-year term in office ends in 2018. Among the "men of force" rumored to be possible successors are Sergei Ivanov, his long-serving chief of staff and fellow alumnus of the KGB, and Sergei Shoigu, the Minister of Defense, who has played the most visible role, apart from Putin, in Russia's military interventions in Ukraine. But in a system where all institutions have been eclipsed by one personality, there is no way to know what happens when he's gone.

Of course, not even Putin is immortal. But while the Communist Politburo would meet to elect a new leader when the incumbent passed away in Soviet times, "in the current system, Putin has no answer to the question of what happens if he has a heart attack," says the President's counselor. He knows that a struggle for control would then break out among the factions in the Kremlin, and in the process, "some of his friends could be torn into slivers of flesh," the adviser says. "So I don't think it's out of cleverness that he's made everybody afraid of his departure. It's just that he doesn't know how to do it any other way." ◻

*Congolese miners working one of the thousands of artisanal mines that cover the country*

# Dirty Diamonds

***It's been 15 years since the global effort to ban blood diamonds. But the industry is still tainted by conflict and misery***

***By Aryn Baker/Tshikapa***

PHOTOGRAPHS BY LYNSEY ADDARIO FOR TIME

**MAX RODRIGUEZ KNOWS** exactly how he is going to propose marriage to his long-term boyfriend, Michael Loper. He has booked a romantic bed-and-breakfast. He has found, using Google Earth, a secluded garden where he plans to take Loper for a sunset walk. The only thing that troubles him is the issue of the ring. Rodriguez has heard about how diamonds fuel distant conflicts, about the miserable conditions of the miners who wrest the stones from the earth, and he worries. The 34-year-old slips on a gold signet-style ring in the 12th-floor showroom of Vale Jewelry in New York City's diamond district. "I don't want a symbol of our union to also be associated with chaos and controversy and pain," says Rodriguez.

To Mbuyi Mwanza, a 15-year-old who spends his days shoveling and sifting gravel in small artisanal mines in southwest Democratic Republic of Congo, diamonds symbolize something much more immediate: the opportunity to eat. Mining work is grueling, and he is plagued by backaches, but that is nothing compared with the pain of seeing his family go hungry. His father is blind; his mother abandoned them several years ago. It's been three months since Mwanza last found a diamond, and his debts—for food, for medicine for his father—are piling up. A large stone, maybe a carat, could earn him $100, he says, enough to let him dream about going back to school, after dropping out at 12 to go to the mines—the only work available in his small village. He knows of at least a dozen other boys from his community who have been forced to work in the mines to survive.

Mwanza's mine, a ruddy gash on the banks of a small stream whose waters will eventually reach the Congo River, is at the center of one of the world's most important sources of gem-quality diamonds. Yet the provincial capital, Tshikapa, betrays nothing of the wealth that lies beneath the ground. None of the roads are paved, not even the airport runway. Hundreds of miners die every year in tunnel collapses that are seldom reported because they happen so often. Teachers at government schools demand payment from students to supplement their meager salaries. Many parents choose to send their teenagers to the mines instead. "We do this work so we can find something that will let us eat," says Mwanza. "When I find a stone, I eat. There is no money left for school."

Mwanza and Rodriguez are on opposite ends of an $81.4 billion-a-year industry that links the mines of Africa, home to 65% of the world's diamonds, with the sparkling salesrooms of high-end jewelry retailers around the world. It is an industry that was supposed to be cleaned up, after the turn-of-the-millennium notoriety surrounding so-called blood or conflict diamonds—precious stones mined in African war zones, often by forced labor, and used to fund armed rebel movements. In 2003 the diamond industry established the Kimberley Process, an international certification system designed to reassure consumers that the diamonds they bought were conflict-free. But more than 10 years later, while the process did reduce the number of conflict diamonds on the market, it remains riddled with loopholes, unable to stop many diamonds mined in war zones or under other egregious circumstances from being sold in international markets. And as Mwanza's life demonstrates, diamond mining even outside a conflict area can be brutal work, performed by low-paid, sometimes school-age miners. "It's a scandal," says Zacharie Mamba, head of Tshikapa's mining division. "We have so much wealth, yet we stay so poor. I can understand why you Americans say you don't want to buy our diamonds. Instead of blessings, our diamonds bring us nothing but misfortune."

Given the ugly realities of the diamond business, it would be tempting to forgo buying a diamond altogether, or to choose, as Rodriguez eventually did, to purchase a synthetic alternative. But Congolese mining officials say diamonds are a vital source of income—if not the only source—for an estimated 1 million small-scale, or artisanal, miners in Congo who dig by hand for the crystals that will one day adorn the engagement ring of a bride- or groom-to-be. "If people stop buying our diamonds, we won't be able to eat," says Mwanza. "We still won't be able to go to school. How does that help us?"

In an age of supply-chain transparency, when a $4 latte can come with an explanation of where the coffee was grown and how, even luxury goods like diamonds are under pressure to prove that they can be sustainable. The Kimberley Process has gone some of the way, yet a truly fair-trade system would not only ban diamonds mined in conflict areas but also allow conscientious consumers to buy diamonds that could improve the working and living conditions of artisanal miners like Mwanza. But the hard truth is that years after the term *blood diamond* breached the public consciousness, there is almost no way to know for sure that you're buying a diamond without blood on it.

**THE KIMBERLEY PROCESS** grew out of a 2000 meeting in Kimberley, South Africa, when the world's major diamond producers and buyers met to address

*Congolese miners pump gravel from riverbeds to search for diamonds. They earn money only when they find one*

LYNSEY ADDARIO—GETTY IMAGES REPORTAGE FOR TIME

growing concerns, and the threat of a consumer boycott, over the sale of rough, uncut diamonds to fund the brutal civil wars of Angola and Sierra Leone—inspiration for the 2006 film *Blood Diamond*. By 2003, 52 governments, as well as international advocacy groups, had ratified the scheme, establishing a system of diamond "passports" issued from the country of origin that would accompany every shipment of rough diamonds around the world. Countries that could not prove that their diamonds were conflict-free could be suspended from the international diamond trade.

The Kimberley Process was hailed as a major step toward ending diamond-fueled conflict. Ian Smillie, one of the early architects of the process and an authority on conflict diamonds, estimates that only 5% to 10% of the world's diamonds are traded illegally now compared with 25% before 2003, a huge boon for producing nations that have a better chance at earning an income off their natural resources.

**$81.4 billion**

**Size of the global diamond industry in 2014. It employs approximately 10 million people worldwide**

But Smillie and other critics argue that the Kimberley Process doesn't go far enough. Unfair labor practices and human-rights abuses don't disqualify diamonds under the protocol, while the definition of conflict is so narrow as to exclude many instances of what consumers would, using common sense, think of as a conflict diamond. Conflict diamonds under the Kimberley Process are defined as gemstones sold to fund a rebel movement attempting to overthrow the state—and only that. So when, in 2008, the Zimbabwean army seized a major diamond deposit in eastern Zimbabwe and massacred more than 200 miners, it was not considered a breach of the Kimberley Process protocols. "Thousands had been killed, raped, injured and enslaved in Zimbabwe, and the Kimberley Process had no way to call those conflict

diamonds because there were no rebels," says Smillie.

Even in some cases where the Kimberley Process has implemented a ban—as in the Central African Republic (CAR), where diamonds have helped fund a genocidal war that has killed thousands since 2013—conflict diamonds are still leaking out. A U.N. panel of experts estimates that 140,000 carats of diamonds—with a retail value of $24 million—have been smuggled out of the country since it was suspended in May 2013. The Enough Project, an organization dedicated to ending resource-based violence in Africa, estimated in a June report that armed groups raise $3.87 million to $5.8 million a year through the taxation of and illicit trade in diamonds.

Many of those diamonds are likely being smuggled across the border to Congo, where they are given Kimberley Process certificates before being traded internationally. "The Central African Republic is a classic case of blood diamonds, exactly what the Kimberley Process was intended to address," says Michael Gibb of Global Witness, a U.K.-based NGO that advocates for the responsible use of natural resources. "The fact that CAR diamonds are making it to international markets is a clear demonstration that the Kimberley Process on its own is not going to be able to deal with this kind of problem." (Representatives of the Congolese body in charge of issuing Kimberley Process certificates deny that CAR diamonds are being laundered through Congo, but mining-ministry officials admit that it is all but impossible to police the country's 1,085-mile [1,746 km] border with the Central African Republic.)

Many countries, industry leaders and international organizations—including the U.S.-based World Diamond Council, the major industry trade group—have lobbied to expand the Kimberley Process definition of conflict diamonds to include issues of environmental impact, human-rights abuses and fair labor practices. They've made little progress. (One reason: any changes to the criteria must be made by consensus. Many countries, including Russia, China and Zimbabwe, have resisted inserting human-rights language that might threaten national interests.) They are instead taking it upon themselves to ensure the integrity of the diamond supply chain and assuage consumer doubts.

Tiffany & Co., Signet and De Beers' Forevermark brand have instituted strict sourcing policies for their diamonds that address many of these concerns. In New York next March, jewelry-industry executives from around the world will meet for an unprecedented 2½-day conference on responsible sourcing in an attempt to hammer out an industry-wide process as transparent as the one that brings fair-trade coffee to Starbucks. "Why shouldn't we be able to trace a much more valuable and more emotionally laden product?" asks Beth Gerstein, who in 2005 cofounded Brilliant Earth, one of the first jewelry companies to make responsible sourcing a selling point.

**65%**

**Percentage of the world's diamonds that are found in Africa, with Botswana, the Democratic Republic of Congo and South Africa among the leaders**

**140,000 carats**

**Total weight of conflict diamonds smuggled out of the war-torn Central African Republic, according to a 2014 U.N. report**

**1.9%**

**Growth in the U.S. fine-jewelry market from 2004 to 2013, at a time when sales of other luxury items like electronics and fine wines increased over 10%**

**81**

**The number of countries that currently participate in the Kimberley Process, the certification scheme for rough diamonds that became operational in 2003**

Ava Bai, one of the twin-sibling designers behind New York's Vale Jewelry, believes the desire of millennials to shop according to their ethics has also helped pushed the industry to embrace sustainability. Fine-jewelry sales in the U.S.—the world's biggest retail diamond market—have stagnated, growing only 1.9% from 2004 to 2013, even as other luxury items, like fine wines and electronics, have gone up by more than 10%. "Millennial consumers are looking for more than the 4Cs [the classic Cut, Carat, Clarity and Color]," says Linnette Gould, head of media relations for De Beers, which launched its Forevermark diamond brand in the U.S. in 2011 with a commitment to responsible sourcing. "They want a guarantee that it is ethical. They want to know about environmental impact. They want to know about labor practices. They want to know that the communities have benefited from the diamonds they are mining." For its part, Vale deals directly with one family that does the buying, cutting and polishing. Their buyer sources diamonds from South African and Indian mines—generally considered more sustainable—and the Bai twins plan to visit the South African mine next year.

That kind of supply-chain management takes significant effort and trust, because even experts can't tell the origins of a diamond simply by looking at it. An experienced gemologist might be able to tell the difference between a handful of rough diamonds from an industrial South African pit mine and those from a Congolese alluvial mine like the one where Mwanza labors. But those differences disappear as a diamond moves up the value chain. "Despite the concern from the public and within the industry about these so-called illicit diamonds and conflict diamonds, there is no scientific or technical way to tell where diamonds came from once they are cut," says Wuyi Wang, director of research and development at the Gemological Institute of America. Laundering a conflict diamond from a place like the Central African Republic is as simple as cutting it. "That is why traceability from the mines is critical," says Wang.

**BUT THE IDEA** of complete chain of custody falls apart in Congo's tens of thousands of alluvial mines. Some 18 miles (29 km) from Mwanza's creek-side site, more than 100 men labor at the much larger Kangambala mine. They have spent four months shoveling away 50 feet (15 m) of rock and dirt to expose the diamond-bearing gravel below. None are paid for the labor; they work only for the opportunity to find diamonds. Knee-deep in water pumped from the nearby river, three men sluice pans of gravel through small sieves. One gives an excited yelp, fishes out a sliver of diamond the size of a peppercorn and hands it to an overseer sitting in the shade of a striped umbrella. The overseer folds it

*Families attend Sunday church services in Kamabue, in the heart of Congo's diamond-mining region*

into a piece of paper torn from a cigarette pack and puts it in his pocket. It's worth maybe $10, he says. That find will be split between the owner of the mine site, who gets 70% of the value, and the 10 members of the sluicing team, who have been working since 9 a.m. and will continue until the sun sets around 6 p.m. If they are lucky they will find two or three such slivers in a day.

The day's findings will be collected and sold to an itinerant buyer. He in turn will sell his purchases up the chain to one of the more established agents, who will collate several packets before making the journey to Tshikapa, where the streets are lined with small shop fronts adorned with hand-painted images of diamonds and dollar signs.

Two days later a young diamond merchant ducks into Funji Kindamba's storefront office. He spills a fistful of greasy yellow and gray stones onto Kindamba's desk. With the help of large tweezers, Kindamba pushes the diamonds into piles with a practiced flick of his wrist, separating out the large ones from the tiny diamonds used in pavé work, where small stones are set very closely together. Eventually they come to an agreement on a price: $200. Kindamba notes down the seller's name, the price he paid and the total carat weight for the whole packet—4.5—in a small notebook. Kindamba has no idea where the diamonds come from. "There are thousands of mines," he says with a laugh. "It's impossible to keep track."

Diamond-industry experts like to say a packet of diamonds will change hands on average eight to 10 times between the country of export and its final destination. The reality is that diamonds from the mines outside Tshikapa are likely to change hands eight to 10 times before they even leave the province for the capital, Kinshasa, the only place where Congolese diamonds can be certified for export. Kindamba's diamonds will be sold on at least twice before they reach a licensed buyer where a representative from the Ministry of Mines can assess the value and furnish the official form required to obtain the Kimberley certificate. On the line noting the location of the mine, it will simply say Tshikapa.

Given the near impossibility of tracing diamonds to their source in countries like Congo, where artisanal mining predominates, jewelers who want a more transparent supply chain usually buy from mining companies like De Beers or Rio Tinto, which control all aspects of the process from exploration to cutting and selling. Others source only from countries with good human-rights records. Brilliant Earth, for example, buys most of its diamonds from Canada.

LYNSEY ADDARIO—GETTY IMAGES REPORTAGE FOR TIME

*Students attend the Brilliant Mobile School, a program that uses funds from the diamond industry to educate miners' children in Congo*

"The unfortunate reality is that there are so many problems that have to be solved before we can offer fair-trade diamonds from the Congo," says Gerstein.

It's a delicate balancing act. On the one hand, companies need to understand enough about their supply chains to assure customers that child-labor issues, environmental degradation or human-rights abuses do not taint their jewelry. But while the easiest way to do that is by simply boycotting certain countries, abstaining won't make those problems disappear. In a desperately poor country like Congo—where over half the population lives on less than $1.25 a day—things could actually get worse. "Artisanal miners in Africa are actually becoming victims of our desire to do right by diamond miners," says Bai.

According to Congo's Ministry of Mines, nearly 10% of the population relies on income from diamonds, and the country produces about a fifth of the world's industrial diamonds. Diamonds may bring problems, but rejecting them outright would bring even more, says Albert Kiungu Muepu, the provincial head of a Congolese NGO that, with the help of the Ottawa-based Diamond Development Initiative (DDI), is organizing miners into collectives—the first step toward establishing fair-trade diamonds. A boycott "will not change diamonds of misfortune into diamonds of joy overnight," he says. "If those who want to do good stop buying our diamonds, rest assured, Congo still loses. The way to better conditions in Congo is to help us better our system so that the resources generated by Congo can profit Congo."

Organizing miners into cooperatives is a key step in the process, much as it was for turning exploited coffee farmers into partners in fair trade. Not only can cooperatives pool resources for better mining equipment, they also can share knowledge and set prices according to global markets, rather than on the basis of what local buyers are offering. But unless the Kimberley Process, or some other internationally agreed-upon certification system, can assuage growing concerns about human-rights abuses, environmental impacts and fair labor practices around mining—while ensuring that tainted diamonds stay out of the marketplace—conscientious consumers may stay away.

Ironically, it is the company that has been the most outspoken about the evils of diamond mining that is doing the most to help Congolese miners right now. Brilliant Earth, with the help of DDI and Muepu's NGO, has funded a school to get children like 12-year-old Kalala Ngalamume out of the mines

*Congolese children in the village of Lungudi, where poverty has forced some school-age children into mining*

LYNSEY ADDARIO—GETTY IMAGES REPORTAGE FOR TIME

and back into class. When his father died of malaria last year, it looked as if Ngalamume would be joining his neighbor Mwanza in the mines. Instead he was picked as one of the first 20 students in the Brilliant Mobile School pilot program, based on his age, his previous schooling and the fact that he was at risk of going to work in the mines. "Without school, I know I would have to do whatever it took to survive, even go looking for diamonds," he says. But hundreds more children in his village are still at risk. "We need to do something so that all these children have an opportunity to be educated, so they won't be poor, so they can do something with their lives."

**SO HOW CAN** a concerned consumer buy a diamond in a way that actually helps people like Mwanza and Ngalamume? Asking questions can go a long way. Responsible jewelers should know every step in the path from mine to market. Kimberley Process certification alone isn't enough—as of now the system is too limited. Diamonds that come from Zimbabwe and Angola are particularly problematic. Watchdog groups have documented human-rights abuses in and around mines in those countries, though exports from both nations are allowed under the Kimberley Process—another loophole in the system.

While buying diamonds from a conflict-free country like Canada can buy you a clean conscience, a better bet may be African countries like Botswana and Namibia. Governments in both countries have a solid record of working with both the industrial mining industry and artisanal miners to enforce strong labor and environmental standards. Sierra Leone—the setting for much of the film *Blood Diamond*—has improved as well, though the country's recent Ebola outbreak set back some of that progress.

Consumers who care can trace the fish on their plate back to the patch of sea it was taken from. They can choose fair-trade apparel that benefits the cotton farmers and seamstresses who produced their clothing. But the lineage of one of the most valuable products that many consumers will ever buy in their lifetime remains shrouded in uncertainty, and too often the people who do the arduous work of digging those precious stones from the earth are the ones who benefit the least. The only way that the blood will finally be washed away from conflict diamonds is if there is a true fair-trade-certification process that allows conscientious consumers to buy Congo's artisanal diamonds with peace of mind—just as they might a cup of coffee. —*With reporting by* CALEB KABANDA/KINSHASA *and* FRANKLIN KALOMBO/TSHIKAPA ◻

# YOUTUBE'S VIEW MASTER

YouTube is the ultimate destination for kids on the Internet. How Susan Wojcicki plans to keep them hooked

**By Belinda Luscombe**

**THE CEO OF YOUTUBE** cannot stand up. She keeps falling to the mat like a cat off a ceiling fan. Or a guy cannonballing into what turns out to be solid ice. Her helmet is awry. Her trousers have slipped to plumber level. A bunch of YouTube employees are watching their boss, Susan Wojcicki, 47, take on the "Meltdown," which is like a large blow-up kiddie pool with a big foam propeller rotating in the middle that people are supposed to duck or leap over. Wojcicki has mastered the duck but takes a pummeling when she tries the leap.

The Meltdown, along with a bouncy castle, a slushy machine, some jumbo-size board games, oceans of red candy and a DJ, has been installed in the back of YouTube's blocky California offices so the company can celebrate 10 years of helping people make a spectacle of themselves, which Wojcicki would be doing right now, except nobody cares. This is a bit of a nerd crowd; if she were to fail on the giant chess set installed in the office foyer, now that would be embarrassing.

Wojcicki (Wo-*jiss*-ki) is at the helm of YouTube at a time

*Wojcicki at YouTube's San Bruno, Calif., offices, where the rooms are named after Internet memes*

PHOTOGRAPH BY IAN ALLEN FOR TIME

when almost every female executive of a big technology company is a cause célèbre, often for making significant contributions to the national discussions around feminism and work-life balance. People far outside Silicon Valley know, for instance, how much (or little) maternity leave Yahoo CEO Marissa Mayer took in 2012 to have her first baby. And many a nontechie's shelf holds a signed copy of Facebook COO Sheryl Sandberg's 2013 best seller *Lean In,* a call for women to do what it takes to become business leaders.

But the fanfare around Wojcicki is more muted. When she took over YouTube in February 2014, the New York *Times* ran a photo of her sister Anne by accident. "They actually had a picture of both of us, and they cut me out," says Wojcicki, smiling. "I will say Anne thought it was great."

This is all the more unlikely because of her colorful pedigree: Google, which bought YouTube for $1.65 billion nine years ago, was started in Wojcicki's garage. She was its 16th employee. She has five kids with her husband (also a Google employee). Her dad escaped Poland at the age of 11 by hiding in a ship's coal bin. Her mom is close personal friends with James Franco. Her sister is recently divorced from Google co-founder Sergey Brin, meaning Wojcicki more or less works for her ex–brother-in-law.

Then there's the hydra she's in charge of. YouTube is now the world's third most popular online destination. Of the 3.2 billion people who have Internet access, more than 1 billion watch YouTube.

**According to a 2014 survey, 66% of kids visit YouTube daily, including 72% of 6-to-8-year-olds**

It has more American viewers ages 18 to 49 just on mobile than any cable network. Revenue increased by an estimated $1 billion last year. (Google is coy about profits.) The site is available in 61 languages. It has a million advertisers.

And more than ever, YouTube is the ultimate destination for kids logging on to the Internet. It pretty much owns kids' eyeballs at this point. One of its core demographics is 8 to 17 years old. According to a 2014 survey of 6,661 kids and their parents by youth researchers Smarty Pants, 66% of children ages 6 to 12 visit YouTube daily, including 72% of 6-to-8-year-olds. When *Variety* asked a bunch of teens to choose their favorite stars among 20 names, the top five were all from YouTube.

That's just the data. Less quantifiable is the way YouTube's free, searchable, mobile, all-you-can-see video buffet has changed the way we navigate the Internet and thus understand what's happening. Yes, people now have unfettered access to crotch-injury videos. But they can also see protests from Tahrir Square or hear directly from ISIS on their phones. Consider this: almost everybody now agrees that police sometimes use unwarranted violence against African Americans. Two years ago that wasn't true. Online video—and specifically YouTube—did that.

One of the ways Wojcicki (rhymes with "the whiskey," if you're still having trouble) has avoided public scrutiny is by being deeply unflashy. She's not charismatic, like Sandberg, or forceful, like IBM chief Ginni Rometty. Her defining quality appears to be pragmatism. She eschews the trappings commonly associated with power, wearing light makeup and modest heels, driving sensible cars (an SUV and a minivan) and living not far from her parents' home in Stanford, Calif. Her office is large but unglamorous. Her answers to questions are direct.

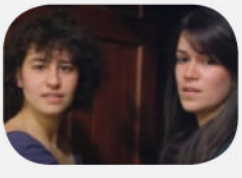
That few people can name the woman running arguably the most important new-media business in the world may be an anomaly or by design. Either way, it's worth spending time with her because we're all subject to the increasing impact of her content. And the pressure of how to direct that power is only going to grow in the coming year.

On Aug. 10, Google announced it was renaming itself Alphabet and creating a conglomerate of subsidiaries to pursue wide-ranging ventures from delivery drones to self-driving cars. That means YouTube, which will remain a part of a subsidiary of Alphabet called Google, will become even more vital to the search gi-

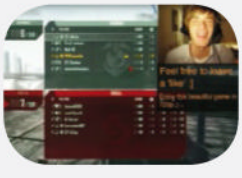
YOUTUBE (7)

## The YouTube culture economy

In just a decade YouTube has become a launching pad for careers in new and mainstream media alike. Here's a closer look at the channels and stars launched by the site



**ABBI JACOBSON AND ILANA GLAZER**
The comedy duo posted two dozen episodes of their series *Broad City* on YouTube starting in 2010; now it's a program on Comedy Central.
*Subscribers: 50,000*



**PEWDIEPIE**
The most followed YouTube personality posts videos of himself playing games and making commentary; last year he took home a reported $7 million in ad revenue.
*Subscribers: 38.9 million*

**JUSTIN BIEBER**
The "All That Matters" singer has YouTube to thank for his meteoric rise: his manager first discovered his amateur singing on the platform and quickly signed him.
*Subscribers: 12 million*

ant's bottom line. That will put Wojcicki's pragmatism to the test.

**WHEN WOJCICKI** and her two sisters were growing up on the Stanford University campus, they lived next to the Dantzigs. George Dantzig created the simplex method, an algorithm used for linear programming, considered one of the top 10 algorithms of the last century. (The scene in *Good Will Hunting* in which Matt Damon's character solves a vexing math equation on the board is based on an incident in his life.) Dantzig also grew lemons. At a young age, the Wojcicki sisters used to pick the fruit and sell it door-to-door for 5¢ each. "People called us the Lemon Sisters. They thought it was a great deal," says Wojcicki. "We thought it was a great deal too."

The parallels with her current job are hard to miss. Wojcicki brings something made by someone else to other people's homes for an unbeatable price. And there are two ways to regard what she delivers: either it's the product of a genius, or it's a lemon. In any case, it's a great deal.

The Lemon Sisters are all remarkably accomplished—think of the Brontës, but with indoor plumbing and access to science labs. Anne, the youngest, is the cofounder and CEO of the genetic-testing company 23andMe. The middle, Janet, is an assistant professor of pediatrics at the University of California, San Francisco. Their childhood was idyllic: bike rides, swim club and family gatherings with brainiacs. Susan was a nerdy kid, but not mega-nerdy. She didn't take a computer-science class until college. In high school, she considered herself bad at math.

Her parents were both educators: Stanley Wojcicki taught physics at Stanford, and his wife Esther is a highly regarded high school teacher in the Bay Area, where she's known as Woj. Woj is not a woman to leave people guessing about her opinions. Wojcicki remembers, with a fond cringe, her mother's loud and official complaints about the quality of education at her school, which eventually led to Woj's creating a well-regarded journalism program. She has co-written a book about it (with a foreword by Franco) called *Moonshots in Education.*

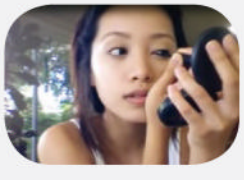
According to Woj, Susan was a model child, a great student and a hard worker and never went through a rebellious phase. "She was boring like that," recalls her mother. This character assessment seems rosily colored by parental bias until Woj talks about her next child: "That's why I had Janet so quickly. But then Janet didn't come out the same way. The most jealous kid you ever met." Directness seems to run in the family.

The only tiny rebellious act the eldest Wojcicki daughter ever committed, according to Woj, was to move to India after finishing Harvard, to be a photographer, covering the Gulf War–inspired anti-American protests there. That was followed by an economics degree and colorful part-time jobs for firms as varied as garbage companies and tech-finance startups. She decided she preferred the startups. Her friends Sergey Brin and Larry Page asked her to join Google, as marketing manager, when it still had no marketing budget. And she was pregnant. But she jumped. As her sister Janet learned years ago, there's no mistaking her drive to win.

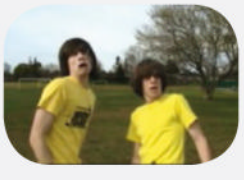
Similarly, when Page mentioned the opportunity at YouTube, she went after it straightaway. She says she didn't even need to think about it. But when she took over in February 2014, it took employees a while to warm up to her, partly because of the unexpectedness of her arrival and partly because her management style favors efficiency over chumminess. "I'm not the kind of person who hangs out in the coffee area for an hour and has random conversations with people," she says. "I like to be home for dinner with my kids, so I am ruthless about blocking my time."

For an executive who has spent most of her career in advertising, Wojcicki is not particularly silver-tongued: she shrugs, raises her eyebrows and says "I mean" and "like" a lot while she talks, like a novice debater. "I think, if I would sort of outline

**She worked for firms as varied as garbage companies and tech-finance startups**

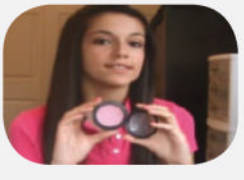


**MICHELLE PHAN**
The makeup tutorialist has built a loyal following of fans who tune in for her tips on everything from perfect brows to clubbing looks; now she has her own line with L'Oréal.
*Subscribers: 7.9 million*



**SMOSH**
Comedy duo Ian Andrew Hecox and Anthony Padilla have been making spoofs and sketch videos since 2005. This year they got their own movie from Lionsgate.
*Subscribers: 21 million*

**ISSA RAE**
The actor launched her popular web series *The Misadventures of Awkward Black Girl* on YouTube; now she's developing her own show for HBO.
*Subscribers: 202,000*



**BETHANY MOTA**
The style vlogger known for offering advice on subjects like "lazy-days hair" and DIY decor has gone on to launch a line with Aéropostale and appear on *Project Runway.*
*Subscribers: 9.3 million*

my vision and my strategy, [it] is to have a great service, keep making it better, keep updating it for the times, like keep making it more mobile, faster, etc.," she says. "But then let's really dig into these areas that we know are really important for us like music, gaming and kids."

As visions go, this is pretty practical too. Of the 100 most watched clips on YouTube as of August 2015, 89 are official music videos. Ten of the other 11 are for really little kids. (The remaining one is the 2007 classic "Charlie Bit My Finger—Again," a story of love, pain and forgiveness, all in a tight 55 seconds.) And YouTube's gaming channels are crazily popular; the Swedish gamer PewDiePie (rhymes with cutie pie) has nearly 39 million subscribers. He reportedly made $7 million from his videos and endorsements last year.

Wojcicki's straightforwardness is what colleagues say makes her effective: she's a simplifier in a group that tends to see things as complicated. "If you're part of Google you have to be analytical. There's no way around it," says YouTube's global head of business, Robert Kyncl. (Apparently an unspellable last name also helps.) "But Susan also has five kids. She's a very regular person-mom who knows what regular problems mean for a lot of people. And so she's able to bring normalcy to a lot of different decisions."

In other words, Wojcicki is more adept at ducking than leaping. Or even more accurately, she's willing to stand and absorb the blow. In 2007, while in advertising, she orchestrated Google's purchase of DoubleClick for $3.1 billion, which many Googlers thought was antithetical to the company's founding principles, because it gave the search giant the dubious honor of being one of the largest users of the Internet tracking devices known as cookies. She held her ground; now most people don't care about cookies. And Google's ad-sales business soared. (Of the $66 billion in revenue it brought in last quarter, some 90% came from ads.)

"She's great at taking a place that has overcomplicated a problem and basically ignoring all the complexities and doing the thing that is brain-dead obvious," says a former Google employee who doesn't wish to be identified because he still does business with the firm. "And then living with the consequences."

One of her chief approaches, say both her critics and friends, is to spend a lot of Google's money. "Sometimes rather than doing the hard work of making something, she'd rather just buy it," says another former colleague. But to Wojcicki (rhymes with "so risky"), this is merely pragmatic. "If I see a shortcut, by hiring the right person or buying the right company or building the product one way as opposed to another way," she says, that's the route she takes. "I just want to get things done."

That decisiveness helps her push through new products, like those unveiled earlier this year. In February, Wojcicki launched YouTube Kids, an app that fences in a safe corner of the Internet for parents to let their kids explore. It also redesigned its app to make it more mobile-friendly and announced a new service that will offer nothing but gaming videos, so that, as product manager Alan Joyce puts it, "when you want something specific, you can search with confidence, knowing that typing 'call' will show you *Call of Duty* and not 'Call Me Maybe.'"

But it can also mean those products aren't perfect. The algorithm that decides what's appropriate for kids occasionally lets the wrong stuff through. (A brief search for "candy" on the YouTube Kids app, designed for children under 5, led this reporter pretty quickly to a video of actors simulating sex, one of them partly disrobed.)

And an algorithm can't really calculate the infinite variations in parents' opinions about what's appropriate. Millions of parents let their toddlers watch toy unboxing videos. But to many others, a 55-minute clip of hands opening and playing with various Play-Doh and Disney toys is nothing more than back-to-back, feature-length ads. These issues have drawn the attention of consumer groups and the Federal Trade Commission. In June, Bill Nelson, the ranking member of the Senate Commerce Committee, sent Larry Page what could be called a please-explain letter.

**Wojcicki has not yet solved YouTube's most nagging issue: creating a paid music-video subscription**

For all her willingness to simplify and press play on new initiatives, Wojcicki has not been able to solve YouTube's most nagging issue: how to create a paid music-video subscription, which it has been promising for at least two years and which several rival companies have already released. Since music is the backbone of YouTube, and the music industry is fed up with the tiny share of revenues it receives for those videos, this is what tech people would call nontrivial. Wojcicki's argument—that YouTube is different because people discover music there, rather than just play what they know they like—is unlikely to placate the music industry for long.

But she bristles at the idea that this delay—or her plans for the company—suggests a lack of vision. "I've been able to see a lot of trends before other people," she says. "I've invested and tried to make the trends a reality." The myth persists, she believes, because Silicon Valley hasn't seen enough female leaders yet. "I also have a style where I'm casual and nice to people. That, and being woman, causes people to underestimate what I can get done."

She certainly doesn't let a family feud stop her. Wojcicki laughs off the suggestion that her sister Anne's split with Brin makes life at work awkward. "I've always had to keep home at home and work at work," she says. "I have a really good relationship with [Brin]. I've worked with Larry and Sergey for more than 16 years. And I lived with them when they worked in my house. I've seen a lot."

**PERHAPS IT WAS** that confidence that enabled Wojcicki to make another unusually bold career move shortly after taking over YouTube. She got pregnant with her fifth child, seven years after her fourth. "Once you have a big family, like, the kids are just like, 'Bring one more on for the club!'" she says. Her husband Dennis Troper also works outside the home, and the two have help and stacks of money,

*A 2002 meeting at the fledgling Google with then CEO Eric Schmidt, co-founders Larry Page and Sergey Brin, Wojcicki and Marissa Mayer, now CEO of Yahoo*

PETER DASILVA—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

but that doesn't mean it has been easy.

She thinks motherhood might be one of the reasons she's one of the less well-known tech executives. "Having young kids has in some ways made it a little bit harder for me," she says. "It was a little bit harder to travel. I was probably a little bit less willing to go to lots of evening events." But she says what she learned at work made her a better mother. "At work I have to delegate," she says. "At home I got better at getting people to help me so I can focus on the things that are important."

Not surprisingly she's a big advocate of paid family leave. Her favorite YouTube video as of this writing is a 12-minute rant by *Last Week Tonight*'s John Oliver on why mandating paid maternity leave is a really good idea. On the other hand, she's a realist. New parents who work at Google get 18 weeks' leave, but since her fifth was born last December, Wojcicki has taken only 14.

Wojcicki's experience with kids—hers range in age from 8 months to 15 years—is now a business advantage. They are her first guinea pigs for many of her ideas. "There are two very different kinds of users of YouTube," she says. The first kind come to the site for a specific video—they're looking for information or they've clicked on somebody else's link. "Those tend to be older people. But the younger generation has found content that they connect to in a specific way. That content is on YouTube. And it's not on TV."

Younger viewers subscribe to channels of the YouTubers they like and interact with them in the comments. They're a very engaged bunch, and not surprisingly, advertisers love them. To keep them coming, YouTube has to keep putting up a lot of new content. More than 400 hours of video is uploaded to YouTube every minute (that's 65 years a day), three times as much as was being posted two years ago. That means more sharing and more engagement. So it's crucial the company keeps its creators happy.

This year YouTube shrewdly combined Brandcast, its dog and pony show for advertisers in New York City, with a meet-up between YouTube stars and their fans. As media buyers walked in, they could not miss the long lines of teenagers waiting to meet their favorite video stars. The marketers nibbled their canapés and swirled their cocktails on a mezzanine floor with ample viewing opportunities of tweens and teens—some of whom had lined up for more than six hours for a 30-second interaction—not quite keeping it together during their selfies.

"Young people have created a fascinating and complex world of deep engagement online," author John Green said at the event. "A world in which they are not just watching content online but becoming part of it." Green credits YouTube with helping him meet Esther, on whose life he based his mega best seller *The Fault in Our Stars,* and with finding and connecting with most of his readers. He and his brother Hank have made quite a business out of YouTube engagement, although not primarily through advertising, even though their videos have been watched 800 million times. They sell services to other YouTubers, and they organize VidCon, a conference for online-video creators, many of whom are under 25. It sold out this year. "I'm not here to entertain you or to educate you or to kiss up to you," he told the advertisers. "I am here to scare you."

Both at Brandcast and VidCon, Wojcicki went out of her way to make the creators feel special. There were billboards promoting them. She addressed them directly in her speeches and spent time visiting them. The company has built studios they can use in Los Angeles, New York City, London, Tokyo, São Paulo and Berlin, with two more opening next year in Toronto and Mumbai. Much as Netflix got a bump from original programming like *House of Cards,* YouTube is making original programming with its stars. Four shows have been announced so far.

As Wojcicki plots a future for YouTube she will need their help. Not only must the company contend with youth-savvy tech firms—your Snapchats, your Spotifys, your Vines—but established media companies are onto the fact that kids are just future users. In August HBO signed a five-year deal with *Sesame Street* to carry new seasons of the childhood classic on its streaming services. This month, both Amazon and Netflix launched new kids' shows.

Google execs did not choose a mother of four (at the time) to head up YouTube because she knew how to deal with kids or relate to young creative types. But the online video portal is Google's most unruly product. "YouTube is as much a community product as it is an algorithm," says Hunter Walk, a former Googler and YouTuber, who worked with Wojcicki at AdSense. "It involves humans to a greater degree than some other of Google's products do." So, as it faces increasing competition from all corners of the Internet, it only makes sense to have it headed by someone who speaks human. ◻

# EVERYONE'S A SUPER

*Marvel Comics editor in chief Axel Alonso at the publisher's New York City headquarters*

PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRIS BUCK FOR TIME

# HERO

*Marvel is winning new fans by bringing diversity to comic books*

By ELIANA DOCKTERMAN

**IN THE GARISH PAGES** of the comic books, Thor stands out as one of the most macho of all the superheroes, an already testosterone-soaked group. Created by the legendary Marvel Comics team of Stan Lee and Jack Kirby in 1962, Thor is a god of Asgard, dispatched to Earth to live among humans. Armed with an enchanted hammer and drawn with bulging muscles and flowing blond tresses that wouldn't be out of place on a romance-novel cover, Thor has always been both magical and manly.

Except that now he's a she. In one of the more controversial superhero makeovers ever, Thor's hammer was passed last fall to a human woman. The hammer duly granted her godlike powers, and in the inscrutable logic of the comic-book universes, she now *is* Thor. When first confronted with a group of condescending villains, she pauses to rally, telling herself, "Quick, say something badass." Then she promptly polishes off the fiends. "The name isn't 'wench,'" she growls at them. "I am the goddess of thunder."

The arrival of a female Thor—and a series of other diversity moves that include a half-black, half–Puerto Rican Spider-Man and the installation of a woman in the role of the crusader known as Captain Marvel—is the work of a team at Marvel Comics led by a former journalist named Axel Alonso. Since taking over as Marvel's editor in chief in 2011, Alonso has recruited new writers, killed moribund series and blown up the narratives of beloved characters.

The changes have been controversial among some comics fans, a notoriously obsessive group. Protests on social media have been loud and bitter. But Alonso's new heroes—particularly those of the female persuasion—are turning out to be good business. At a time when films from Marvel's movie

division have come under fire from some critics for their predominantly male casts, Alonso and his comic-book writers are proving there's a paying audience for diversity. (Both Marvel Comics and Marvel Studios are units of entertainment giant Disney.) Sales of Marvel titles at comic-book stores reached $186 million last year, up 8% from the previous year, according to data from Diamond Comic Distributors, as fans snapped up the new *Thor* and other titles.

If the metamorphosis keeps up, it will mark a new turning point for a medium with a powerful hold on the American consciousness. Comic-book heroes have been part of the national mythology going back to World War II, when Superman stood for "truth, justice and the American way," and more recently have tackled everything from civil rights to terrorism. If they have mostly flubbed the subject of gender equality, they are at last making a heroic effort to catch up.

**ALONSO IS 48 YEARS OLD** and has a wife and son, but he sports a shaved head and an arm tattoo of the Mayan calendar that projects a fitting countercultural vibe for the comic-book world. He says he learned early just how meaningful the implausible characters in comics can be. When he was growing up in San Francisco, the son of a Mexican father and a British mother, comic books were part of a weekly family ritual. "My *abuelita,* my grandma, used to pick me up on Fridays after school, because my mom worked late, and take me to the dime store, and I would buy a comic book," he recalls. "The first comic book I bought was called *New Gods*. It was really violent and crazy, and I loved it."

He says he gave up comic books as a preteen because he "didn't want to be uncool" and fell in love with sports. After high school he attended the University of California, Santa Cruz. Then, after earning a master's from Columbia Journalism School, he worked as a freelancer. Writing assignments ranged from a feature on the world's best handball players to a profile of a pimp who moonlighted as an inventor. Tiring of the infrequent paychecks, he spotted an ad for an editor job at DC Comics—home to Batman, Superman and Wonder Woman—and decided to apply. "I got an interview because I'd written a [newspaper] story in which a guy who had stolen the girlfriend of one of the editors at DC came off looking like a jackass. So this editor offered me the job on the spot," he says. "It was meant to be."

After six years, competitor Marvel recruited him away from DC in 2000. He began changing both the faces and the stories of Marvel's comics. He edited *Truth,* featuring the first black Captain America, as well as a controversial western comic called *Rawhide Kid,* about a gay cowboy who had a gun dangling suggestively between his legs. He lobbied his fellow editors—at first unsuccessfully—for a Black Widow comic after the character played by Scarlett Johansson made her big-screen debut in 2010's *Iron Man 2*.

By 2011, Alonso had established himself as one of the comics world's most successful editors as well as a fixture at fan events that are critical to promoting new titles, and Marvel promoted him to editor in chief. One of his first moves was to cancel a struggling series called *X-23* that chronicled a female genetic clone of fan favorite Wolverine—which, at the time, happened to be Marvel's only comic with a solo female lead. Even though the decision was a financial no-brainer, Alonso found it difficult. He knew mothers and fathers on his staff wanted empowered female characters who would appeal to their daughters—and remembering the lack of diversity in the comics of his youth, he empathized.

"It was always in the back of my mind that I'd like to see superheroes look like me or look like my son. So I'm always striving to make the next great Mexican superhero," says Alonso. "When we decided to cancel *X-23,* it just hit us that this was really bad."

So he resolved that Marvel would somehow develop a female superhero who would also be a hit in the marketplace. "I didn't hand down any sort of mandate—Make Thor a woman—but I just kind of told the editors, 'Keep this in mind. Write something we can sell.'"

**ALONSO'S IMPERATIVE** collided with the restlessness of writer Jason Aaron, who wanted to find a surprising new direction for Thor, one of Marvel's staple superheroes. In comic-book lore, Thor's magical hammer, called Mjolnir, can be lifted only by whoever is deemed worthy to carry it. Aaron decided that the male Thor no longer qualified. "I liked the idea of Thor as a god who was always questioning his own worthiness," Aaron says. "I like to think of him waking up every day and looking at the hammer and not knowing if he was going to be able to pick it up."

But tampering with Thor—whose portrayal by actor Chris Hemsworth has helped fuel Marvel Studios' cinematic success—was risky. Aaron took his idea to one of Marvel Comics'

## WE CAN BE HEROES

Alonso credits Spider-Man co-creator Stan Lee with saying comic books should look like "the world outside your window." Now Marvel is updating characters to appeal to diverse readers.

**CAPTAIN MARVEL**
**Then:** The original Captain Marvel, an alien soldier who defects to defend Earth, first appeared in 1967.
**Now:** Carol Danvers, once a hero known as Ms. Marvel, got promoted in 2014.
**Powers:** Can fly and shoot beams from her hands.

**CAPTAIN AMERICA**
**Then:** Steve Rogers, the first Captain America, debuted in 1941. In 1969 he picked up a sidekick, Falcon (Sam Wilson), Marvel's first African-American superhero.
**Now:** Wilson replaced the retiring Rogers in 2014.
**Powers:** Carries an indestructible shield and can fly (with Falcon's man-made wings).

**BLACK WIDOW**
**Then:** Former Russian assassin Natasha Romanova played second fiddle to the Avengers beginning in 1964.
**Now:** Got her own comic book in 2014 and will star in Marvel's first young-adult novel this fall.
**Powers:** Resistant to illness and aging.

COURTESY MARVEL

semiannual retreats where dozens of writers and editors gather to chart the year ahead. His pitch was simple. Thor's hammer had been handed briefly in the past to an extraterrestrial and even an amphibian. So shouldn't fans be able to get behind another unfamiliar species—woman—lifting the weapon?

"I think if we can accept Thor as a frog and a horse-faced alien, we should be able to accept a woman being able to pick up that hammer and wield it for a while, which surprisingly we've never really seen before," he says. Alonso approved, and work began on what would become *Thor: The Goddess of Thunder #1*.

The push for diverse characters expanded well beyond Thor. In the past two years, Alonso and his team have launched 16 new titles starring women. One of the most significant moves was transferring the mantle of Captain Marvel, a hero who first appeared in 1967 to the Carol Danvers character, who had been toiling in the understudy role of Ms. Marvel.

That created a job opening in the superhero universe—and two of the top creative women in the comics industry proposed a fresh character to fill it. Marvel director of content and character development Sana Amanat—whom Alonso calls the driving force behind the publisher's female-friendly initiatives—reached out to G. Willow Wilson, a highly regarded writer who also happens to be one of the few Muslim women in the business. In February 2014, they introduced a new Ms. Marvel: Kamala Khan, a 16-year-old Muslim girl struggling to fit in who uses her shape-shifting powers to protect her hometown of Jersey City, N.J. Some fans blasted the new story line—a few even accused Amanat and Wilson of somehow promoting jihad—but the book quickly earned a spot on the New York *Times* list of best-selling paperback graphic books.

Wilson says the payoff was worth the risk. "I thought they were going to need an intern to open all the hate mail," she says. "Now I have people you would least expect—like this giant, blond, bearded guy I met in Denver—telling me how they connect to Ms. Marvel because they were made fun of in school for being different."

*Marvel Comics content director Sana Amanat led the push to put a Muslim teenager in the role of Ms. Marvel*

**DEVISING THE NEXT GENERATION** of superheroes to reflect the diversity of potential comic-book readers is one thing. Disrupting the fictional universes for longtime fans who can cite dialogue just from the mention of an issue number is another. The first issue of the new *Thor* reached stores on Oct. 1, 2014, but Aaron decided to keep the actual identity of the new goddess a mystery for several issues to build interest. (Spoiler alert: she is Dr. Jane Foster, Thor's longtime comics companion.) Three months earlier, Alonso arranged for the reveal to take place before the all-women hosts of television's *The View*—and the backlash from some fans was swift and brutal. "This is PC gimmick bull," one angry fan tweeted.

Aaron nodded to the controversy in the pages of *Thor,* having a villain complain, "Feminists are ruining everything." (Thor promptly breaks his jaw.) Other fans, meanwhile, moved quickly to back the new heroine. "I call the kind of guys who say Thor can only be this one dude 'fake nerds' because they don't know their comic-book history," says Brittany Baker, a 25-year-old who says that when she was growing up in Toronto, she would pretend she was buying comic books for her brother in order to fend off male customers who would question her fan credentials.

More to the point for Marvel, these new titles are selling well and showing how a diverse

cast of characters can attract new readers. Though the industry's conventional wisdom long held that female leads were doomed to fail, *Thor: The Goddess of Thunder* has outsold the male-Thor comic by 30%. *Ms. Marvel* was the company's top digital seller in 2014. And the debut issues of four of Marvel's female titles—*Thor, Spider-Gwen, Princess Leia* and *Ms. Marvel*—each individually sold over 200,000 copies, or more than double the typical number for so-called event titles.

In 2014, women made up an estimated 37% of Marvel Comics' fan base, up from 25% only a year before, according to Facebook data gathered by analyst Brett Schenker. This year's *Publishers Weekly* survey of comic-book retailers concluded that women ages 17 to 30—the same women who have made young-adult franchises like *The Hunger Games* and *Twilight* successful—are the fastest-growing demographic in comics. "Young women have been really responding to the comics where the female characters are designed to appeal to girls, not boys," says Juliette Capra, events director at Fantastic Comics in Berkeley, Calif.

Store owners also say the characters who are selling best are the ones most fully formed. One example is Captain Marvel, whose author, Kelly Sue DeConnick, has crusaded publicly against comics that objectify women and has attracted a legion of fans who call themselves the Carol Corps, after character Carol Danvers. "If you can take out your female character and replace her with a sexy lamp and your plot still functions, you're doing it wrong," she says. "I just want our female characters to have their own motivations and complexities."

Part of Carol Danvers' transformation into a modern hero came with an outfit redesign that ditched a spandex leotard for a pilot's uniform. Capra says girls who come into her store gravitate toward other titles that have altered characters' styles from sexy to practical. When DC put Batgirl, a Ph.D. candidate, into yellow Doc Martens instead of heels, the shoes sold out at major online retailers within hours. DC is, in fact, increasingly mirroring the strategy of its big rival Marvel. In addition to giving Batgirl a less stereotypical look, the publisher earlier this year announced a partnership with Mattel to produce a TV show and toys based on DC's female characters.

**COMIC BOOKS** are just a small fraction of the big money in the massive superhero industry. Last year, for instance, Disney recorded a 22% surge in net income, largely thanks to Marvel's *Guardians of the Galaxy* film. Disney doesn't break out financial results for Marvel specifically, but its fiscal-2014 overall revenue was $48.8 billion, mostly from TV, movies and theme parks. In contrast, the entire consumer-products segment—which rolls up comic books along with things like toys and other character-emblazoned goods—was about 8% of total revenue.

On movie screens, at least for now, there has been little change. When Marvel's *Avengers* returned this summer—racking up an estimated $1.4 billion at the international box office so far—it was Hemsworth's he-man version of Thor who fought alongside Iron Man and Captain America. Only one of the 10 film projects Marvel has announced for the next four years, *Captain Marvel,* stars a woman, and it won't hit screens until 2018. DC's much discussed *Wonder Woman* movie will premiere a year earlier.

Alonso acknowledges the criticism over Marvel Studios' heavily male tilt, but he's more focused on the possibilities in the pages of the comic books his writers and artists are creating—and believes Marvel Comics will help bring about change in its role as an incubator for new movies. "We are responsible for building and occasionally breaking things," he says. "If something works, that's an indication for how movie audiences might respond."

His next chance to build and break will come this fall, with a complete revamping of Marvel's titles, all of which will connect with one another in what's known in comic circles as a universe. The reboot will let writers explore new characters from fresh angles and may even serve as fodder for future films. The company has dubbed this the "All-New, All-Different" Marvel universe, and it will include a chance for the female Thor and Ms. Marvel to join the *Avengers* team for the first time.

Fans appear ready for more. At this summer's Comic-Con in San Diego—an annual event that was once dominated by fanboys but now has close to a 50-50 split of male and female attendees—a 9-year-old girl wearing Ms. Marvel's signature lightning bolt stole the show at a panel when she stood on her tiptoes to ask questions. Out in the hallways, women roamed up and down in the costumes of their favorite characters. One of them, Bennett Cousins, came dressed as Thor and was swarmed by photographers and bloggers. "What does it take to be Thor?" one asked. Hoisting a foam hammer, she replied, "Ovaries." □

**MS. MARVEL**
**Then:** Ms. Marvel first appeared in 1967 as an Air Force pilot and often a damsel in distress.
**Now:** Kamala Khan, a 16-year-old Muslim girl from Jersey City, N.J., inherited the role in 2014.
**Powers:** Can shape-shift.

**THOR**
**Then:** Debuted in 1962 as a god sent to Earth to learn humility.
**Now:** Thor's magical hammer deemed the god unworthy last year and transferred its powers to his love interest Jane Foster.
**Powers:** Hammer imbues her with superstrength, control of thunder.

**SPIDER-GWEN**
**Then:** Gwen Stacy first appeared in 1965 as the girlfriend of Peter Parker's Spider-Man.
**Now:** In a new 2015 universe, a radioactive spider bites Gwen instead of Peter, giving her powers.
**Powers:** Shoot webs from wrists, climbs buildings.

**SPIDER-MAN**
**Then:** Since 1962, Spider-Man's secret identity has been high schooler Peter Parker.
**Now:** In 2011, half–Puerto Rican, half-black Miles Morales inherited the uniform after Peter vanished.
**Powers:** Miles has Spidey's old abilities and can also camouflage himself and shoot venom.

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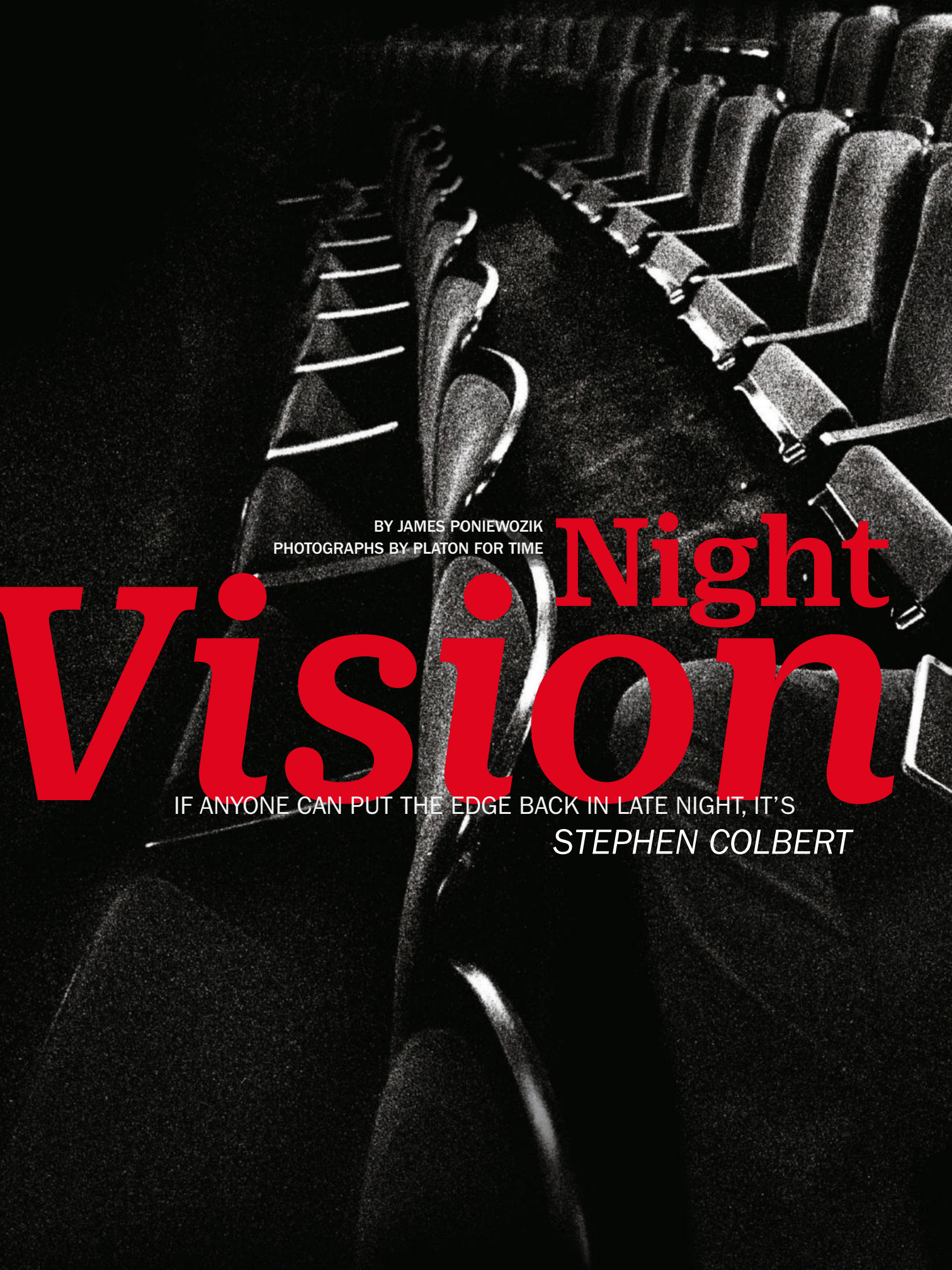

BY JAMES PONIEWOZIK
PHOTOGRAPHS BY PLATON FOR TIME

# Night Vision

IF ANYONE CAN PUT THE EDGE BACK IN LATE NIGHT, IT'S *STEPHEN COLBERT*

*Colbert in newly installed seats at the Ed Sullivan Theater on Aug. 13*

# *Stephen Colbert is sitting at a conference table,*

poring over a dossier on the first and most mysterious celebrity who will appear on CBS's *Late Show* when he takes over on Sept. 8—Stephen Colbert.

The research is part of a planned series of *Late Show* segments titled "Who Am Me?," a takeoff on the question people have been asking since Colbert was named David Letterman's successor last year, after playing conservative pundit "Stephen Colbert" for nearly a decade on *The Colbert Report:* Who is the real Stephen Colbert?

So he asked his staffers to find out. They sent a crew to his hometown, Charleston, S.C., tracking down childhood friends to ask about his early years. (Another idea: having Colbert investigated by a private eye.) If they move forward with the piece, Colbert will go down himself, but first he's sitting down with associate producer Megan Gearheart and senior segment producer Liz Levin, trying to find out if Past Stephen gave Future Stephen any good material.

Turns out Past Stephen was a bit of a rascal, in a red-blooded Americana way. There are stories of fender benders, doing doughnuts in a Waffle House parking lot, the time he threw a football that wrecked his mother's crystal chandelier while she was out of town. "So I took all the crystals off," he says, "hundreds of crystals, and rehung them in a new pattern. *She never noticed.* I told her 30 years later. She was like, 'I'm so proud of you!'"

Colbert shuffles through the papers, riffing lines to use when he goes down to interview his old cronies. He practices a question for an old girlfriend in a stentorian *Report*-esque voice: "How have I destroyed you for other men?" Then he overrules himself: "No, I can't do that." He reminisces about a girl with whom he used to sit on the school lawn, talking backward. "'Eyb-eyb, Ycul!' That's how I'd say, 'Bye-bye, Lucy.'" Gearheart and Levin *awwwww* over this, but he quickly nixes himself again. "No, that's too adorable for television."

It's tricky, this being-yourself business. This isn't like "Better Know a District," the old *Report* segment in which he used to spring excruciating questions on members of Congress. (In 2006 he asked Georgia Republican Lynn Westmoreland, who supported a bill requiring the Ten Commandments to be displayed in Congress, to recite them on air. The Congressman was able to come up with three.) This is more like "Better Know Thyself," and he doesn't want to embarrass on camera people he knows and loves.

"We'll just have to keep going up to the line, and I can say, 'We'll edit that out,'" he says finally—Stephen the nice guy compromising with Stephen the comedian. Ultimately, he says, "Who Am Me?" will probably have to be an unsolved mystery. "There's a level of this," he tells his producers, "where it's addressing a question without an answer, that can't be answered. Like 'Who am cares?'"

**WE AM CARE,** and here's why. It's not as if anyone cares that much about network late-night shows anymore. The audiences and the profits are smaller; the influence has waned. Johnny Carson used to be like a fourth branch of government. Now more people experience the shows as five-minute viral clips, if at all. When Letterman and Jay Leno battled to succeed Carson, it was like a comedic and cultural civil war. When Jimmy Fallon took over *The Tonight Show,* it was fine and people were generally happy. We all got some fun lip-sync videos out of it.

So it doesn't matter per se that CBS's *Late Show* is getting a new host. What matters is that Colbert is getting a new job. After all, he's part of the reason the old-school talk shows became less relevant—political-comedy shows like the *Report* and *Last Week Tonight,* both offshoots of Jon Stewart's 16-year run on Comedy Central's *The Daily Show,* have influence far outstripping their audience size. If there's one person who could make a network late show really matter again, it's Colbert. Whoever he is.

In one sense, Colbert is among the best-known entities in late night. Launched in 2005, *The Colbert Report* was the most

*Some employers [illegible] extra benefits in an attempt [illegible] problem to [illegible] time offer*

*Colbert and his executive team meet in the writers' room at the Ed Sullivan Theater offices*

revolutionary talk show since Letterman's *Late Night* on NBC. Colbert rode his vainglorious character into cultural history on a screaming eagle, playing a swaggering, know-nothing, feel-everything conservative pundit devoted to America, himself and the truth—or rather the "truthiness" (an epoch-defining coinage for the belief that if something feels true in your gut, then it is true).

Some critics doubted the performance could last more than a few weeks. It went almost a decade, becoming a multiplatform, immersive improv piece that outlasted any Andy Kaufman stunt. On air, he jousted with politicians, actors and authors in the persona of an impassioned idiot. Off air, he lacerated the press and President George W. Bush in a White House Correspondents' Dinner speech that went viral, ran a favorite-son presidential campaign in the South Carolina Democratic primary and created his own campaign super PAC, teaching a civics lesson on how those bodies funnel millions of anonymous dollars into elections.

But Colbert himself—the person, himself, out of character—has almost never appeared on TV outside of a few interviews. In this sense, he's coming into the

job less as a Letterman and more as a Conan O'Brien, who took over *Late Night* as an obscure former writer for *The Simpsons*. We know Colbert well, yet we have no idea who is going to show up.

The traditional way to answer that question is biography: you probe someone's childhood and résumé and, Rumpelstiltskin's-your-name, you've unlocked the real person. Quickly then: Colbert, 51, was born into a big South Carolina family, the youngest of 11. He suffered an early tragedy when his father, a medical-school dean, and two brothers were killed in a plane crash. He found escape in books, *Dungeons & Dragons* and vintage pulp sci-fi. ("I was a nerd when nerd was *nerd*," he says. "I went to gaming conventions. I'm glad that it's popular now. But I was a nerd when it had a *cost*.") He studied acting in Chicago, gravitated to improv and became a regular with the Second City troupe. "He was always funny, always a good partner, always a 'Yes, and' person," remembers fellow cast member and longtime friend Amy Sedaris. That led to TV writing, to making the surreal sitcom *Strangers With Candy* with Sedaris, to *The Daily Show,* to the *Report,* to this.

So, yes, there is a real Colbert, by all accounts delightful. His off-camera manner is warm, soft-spoken and earnest. Unlike his pinstripe-armored Comedy Central alter ego, he prefers a suburban-dad uniform of khakis, deck shoes and oxford shirts, befitting the suburban New Jersey dad he is. He tends to be the smartest guy in any room he's in, even if it's the size of the Ed Sullivan Theater. (Did you know that the original 1950s CBS eye logo was designed by William Golden? Colbert does! Did you know that Abe Lincoln was once a wrestler, who would yell "I'm the big buck of this lick!" and challenge anyone in the crowd to fight him after a match? Colbert does!)

But who am we kidding? You're not going to see this guy on TV—not all of him anyway, not all the time. Because real people don't host talk shows. You didn't watch the real Letterman or Carson, who were intensely private men, however much they might have peppered their desk chat with off-camera anecdotes. Even nonentertainers create personae for different situations; constructing an identity is part of growing up. When Colbert was a kid, for instance, before he ever stepped in front of a TV camera, his parents gave him the choice of pronouncing his surname "COAL-bert" or "col-BEAR." He picked the latter—a little more worldly, a little less Southern—just as he deliberately worked to drop his Southern accent and speak like mid-Atlantic news anchors on TV.

Even Colbert's tongue-in-cheek "Who Am Me?" research gets at the absurdity of the question. There are several versions of any of us, depending on whom you ask, and—just as is already happening in the producers' meetings—you'll get a curated edit of Colbert that he chooses to put on the air. You'll get an entertaining performance, which is informed by an actual, complicated person but is not that person exactly. That's not a lie. It's show business.

**THIS SUMMER,** Colbert and his team are working in purgatory, in a cube farm of temporary offices on the far, far west side of Manhattan, above a BMW dealership. ("It feels like you're selling insurance in here," Colbert says.) Eventually they'll have several floors of spiffy, glass-walled offices over the Ed Sullivan Theater in Times Square. For now, though, the door of Colbert's new office is marked by a sheet of printer paper that reads "Stephen Colbert's New Office." The mail bins still have *The Colbert Report* labels. The anonymous workspace bears the detritus of the many productions that squatted here before. "There is serious gum under this chair!" Colbert exclaims during a meeting. "This is Bethenny Frankel gum!"

Launching a talk show is like starting a new job and renovating a mansion all at once—there are hundreds of tiny decisions to make that may stick with you for years. This afternoon, there's a review of final renderings of the set; a Skype call to Buenos Aires with the director of the title sequence, which is supposed to create the impression of "a toy chest version of New York"; picking out swatches for the guest chairs. (Pro tip: Don't pick the velvet. It doesn't pop on camera.) Colbert weighs in on the exposed brick of the new set and the distance between the mirrors in the guest makeup room. "I'm a complete obsessive-compulsive control freak," he says. "I like to know where the data cable is coming in from the street."

*The Colbert Report* had a mere eight weeks to prep and launch. *The Late Show With Stephen Colbert* has had eight months since its predecessor went off the air. For the writers, that means months of what Colbert called "shouting jokes into a sock and throwing it off a bridge." You

***'There is serious gum under this chair!' Colbert exclaims. 'This is Bethenny Frankel gum!'***

*Construction-crew members and set designers prepare the new stage for Colbert's debut on Sept. 8*

pitch, you conceive bits, you write jokes and scripts. Maybe a few are evergreen enough to save for the actual show; most will never make it out of these rooms.

Yet they're all important, because they'll set the tone of the new show, and that in turn will help create Colbert 2.0. One wall of Colbert's office is covered with note cards bearing the names of segments that might or might not ever come to be: "Saddest Thing on Wikipedia," "Manufactured Controversy," "The Fault in Our Divergent Hunger Stars." One says, simply, "Prossible."

To keep the comedy muscles limber and to remind America that he existed, Colbert began putting videos online early in the summer. After Donald Trump announced his presidential campaign, he whipped up one wearing a toupee and speaking in blustering Trumpisms. A week of "Lunch With Stephen" shorts unspooled a bizarre five-minute story of Colbert as a co-worker on the run from the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

Most audaciously and bizarrely, Colbert did an entire "first show" from a small-town cable-access studio in Monroe, Mich.: a full 41 minutes including a monologue, an interview with bewildered Detroit native Eminem (whom Colbert pretended never to have heard of) and hyperlocal comedy bits about a Yelp review of an area restaurant and a rare local delicacy, muskrat. (Disclosure: coincidentally, I was born and raised in Monroe. The muskrat is no joke.)

The pieces feel like a kind of audition reel, playing with new ways of being "Stephen Colbert" for a new show—"finding different colors in his voice," as Tom Purcell, executive producer for both the *Report* and *The Late Show,* puts it. Which of these hosts will we see in September—the one-man repertory of characters? The deliberately clueless interviewer? The political satirist? The genuinely curious mensch? "I have no doubt all of them will exist," Colbert says, "because you've got to fill an hour every night."

But if you want a big hint of what Colbert the *Late Show* host will be like, you could also just rewatch the *Report,* whose fake-pundit host—"the Character," Colbert and his producers call him—was much more real than he gets credit for.

The Character didn't share Colbert's politics. (Colbert claims "a liberal bent," having absorbed politics early via his older siblings in the Watergate era.) But he had many of the same nerd passions. (Colbert had a cameo in *The Hobbit: The Desolation of Smaug* and speaks passable Elvish.) He was just as seriously Catholic. When Stanford psychology professor Philip Zimbardo argued on the *Report* that God created hell and evil, Colbert shot back, "Hell was created by Satan's disobedience to God and his purposeful removal from God's love, which is what hell is … You send yourself to hell; God doesn't send you there." Zimbardo congratulated his interlocutor on learning well in Sunday school. "I *teach* Sunday school, motherf-cker!" Colbert retorted, with a huge grin. (He actually does.)

In other ways, the *Report* simply reflected Colbert's taste for surreal, twisted humor—like the finale, in which the host murdered Death, became immortal and flew off on Santa's sleigh with a unicorn Abraham Lincoln and Alex Trebek. "He has a genuine love of stupid, silly joy," says Purcell. The Character implied the actual Colbert in the negative space around him: he's not that guy, but he's the guy who found that guy funny. Even the off-kilter grammar play of "Who Am Me?" recalls the title of his *Report*-era best-selling book, *I Am America (And So Can You!).*

On the old show, says Purcell, when Colbert and Co. would have an idea—say, a feud with the band the Decemberists or the Character's paranoia about bears—they'd have to figure out how to filter it through "the voice of this

archconservative." Now they can simply do it. Says Colbert's head writer, Opus Moreschi: "People already know this guy more than they think they do."

But one way or another, he won't be the Character, and that's going to be an adjustment for ardent fans. The *Report* spoofed the cult of personality around cable-news messiahs—the ritual "Stephen! Stephen! Stephen!" audience chant—but it also reproduced it. When he asked the members of "Colbert Nation" to falsify the Wikipedia entry on elephants (to illustrate "wikiality," the idea that Internet-age truth is malleable) or to write to NASA to ask for a space-station module to be named for him, they did. To a lot of his audience, liberals especially, he was not just an entertainer but a political folk hero. Stepping off that bunting-draped pedestal will be a risk. It may also be a relief. "People had [political] expectations early on in that show following the Correspondents' Dinner, which is why I almost never spoke about that," Colbert says. "I didn't want people's expectation that I was anyone's champion to overcome our intention, which was comedy. I don't want to be anybody's champion. That doesn't sound funny."

In fact, Colbert had decided to quit the *Report* anyway when CBS came calling. "I still enjoyed it," he says, "but to model that behavior, you have to consume that behavior on a regular basis. It became very hard to watch punditry of any kind. And I wouldn't want anyone to mistake my comedy for punditry itself."

Then again, that show was the reason CBS came calling. It may not want the *Report* itself, but it would like its younger audience—at an average age of around 42, one of the youngest in late night, whereas Letterman had one of the oldest, at 60. Advertisers pay more to reach young viewers, meaning that even if Colbert doesn't catch Fallon or Jimmy Kimmel in overall ratings, he could still earn more money. "You advertisers want young eyeballs," Colbert said at a CBS ad-sales presentation in May, "and not just the ones Rupert Murdoch buys on the black market."

Time was, if a comic stepped up to a big network stage, it meant giving up any specific points of view to appeal to a broad audience—Jay Leno, for instance, was scathingly political before he took over *Tonight*. But specificity, not being for everyone, is exactly what brought Colbert that platinum audience. Maybe for that reason, CBS chief Leslie Moonves doesn't sound worried that viewers might associate Colbert with polarizing comedy. And not just polarizing to conservatives. In 2014 progressives started a #CancelColbert campaign after the Character announced the "Ching-Chong Ding-Dong Foundation for Sensitivity to Orientals or Whatever," a parody of the Washington Redskins' attempts to defend their team's racist mascot. "He's going to step on a lot of toes," Moonves says. "There's no question that part of his success is that he's been controversial, and I'm sure that on CBS, he'll be controversial again."

## Who am he? Stephen Colbert's influences and inspirations

**GOD**
Colbert is open about his Catholic faith—he even teaches Sunday school

**J.R.R. TOLKIEN**
He's such a *Lord of the Rings* fan that he took a two-second cameo as a spy in *The Hobbit: The Desolation of Smaug*

**DAVID LETTERMAN**
The *Late Show* host and his successor openly praise each other and did a bit at last year's Kennedy Center Honors

**JON STEWART**
Colbert's impassioned speech of thanks during Stewart's final *Daily Show* was among both men's most memorable TV moments

**BEARS**
His endless feud with ursine marauders gave the *Report* one of its best running gags

**AMY SEDARIS**
Early in his career, Colbert worked with the oddball actor on her sitcom *Strangers With Candy*, in which he played a closeted history teacher

**THE U.S. CONGRESS**
The *Report*'s "Better Know a District" series gave Colbert serious Beltway buzz

**SARAH KOENIG**
Colbert called the *Serial* reporter "my favorite guest of all time"—perhaps a sign of the bookings he'll make on CBS

**BUT FIRST,** there's a show to build, literally from the ground up. On a Friday afternoon in mid-July, we climb five stories of scaffolding to the ceiling of the under-construction Ed Sullivan Theater. It's breathtaking even if you don't look down the creaky metal stairs—a massive neo-Gothic dome with baroque grillwork and original stained glass from 1927. There's history in the basement too, where Colbert points out some chunky wooden posts. "The elephant columns," he says. "Ed Sullivan put them there for [support] when the Ringling Brothers circus came to town." (I have not independently verified this claim, but it feels true in my gut.)

When Letterman moved here in 1993, he narrowed the space with lighting and sound equipment to make it more like a typical TV studio. Colbert's renovation is opening it back up, which is partly a statement of purpose. "On [the *Report*], there was a need not to let people in, not to see backstage," he says. "My character couldn't admit that it was a comedy show. We would edit any mistake I ever did, because part of the character was that he wasn't a f-ckup. In this show, I don't care what you see."

If television had a St. Peter's Basilica, this would be it. This was Letterman's stage, of course, but the Beatles played here too, and Elvis, Merv Griffin and Jackie Gleason. Physically, at least, Colbert will be, in Sullivan's words, putting on a really big show. Colbert can't help seeming awed by the space. Yet he's aware that awe and reverence kill comedy dead. The first time he toured the place with

BIBLE, FLAG: ALAMY; GOLLUM: PHOTOFEST; BEAR: AP; COLBERT, LETTERMAN, KOENIG: GETTY IMAGES

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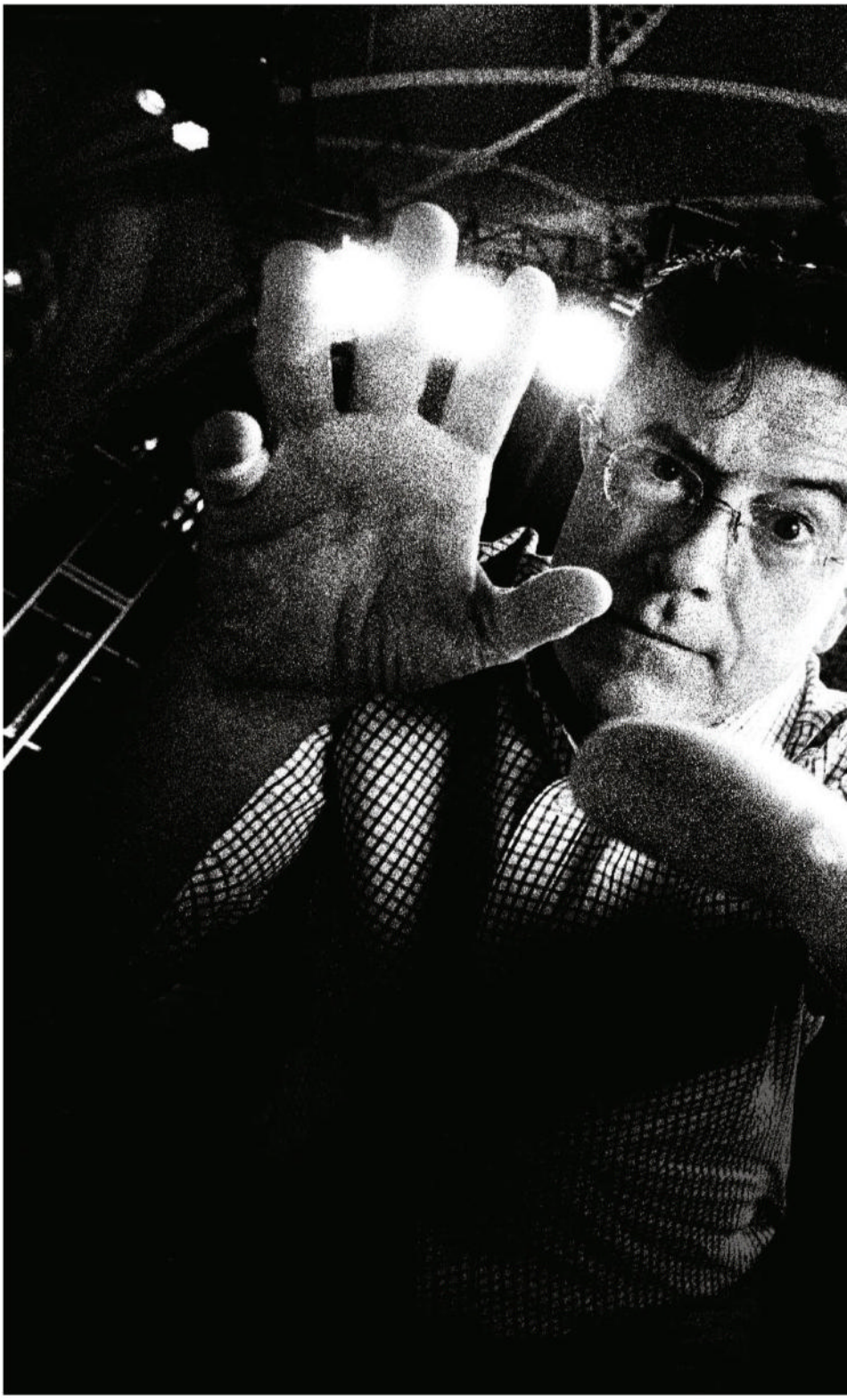
co–executive producer Barry Julien, Colbert recalls, he was struck by how different this Broadway temple would be from the *Report* studio, a modest functional box on the far west side of Manhattan. "And Barry said, 'Yeah, but the thing is, those idiots—us, the people who did that show—would look at this space as an opportunity to exploit to do their comedy.' That's exactly how we have to look at it. Those idiots got us this job."

That was the challenge Letterman had when he ported his cult show over to CBS in 1993, taking something niche and revolutionary and making it big. It didn't entirely work, not at first. Letterman was still Letterman—he even beat Leno in the ratings for a brief run—but it was years, maybe not until his 2000 heart surgery, before he seemed truly comfortable having gone from stunt pilot to 747 captain.

If there's an artist out there who can solve this puzzle—create popular yet idiosyncratic genius, on CBS, the most mass of the few remaining mass broadcasters—it's Colbert. His defining feature as a performer is how he combines subversiveness with normality—hypernormality, really, an almost unsettling, David Lynchian, stock-photo clean-cutness.

"I am a white, male, straight, Christian—Catholic, so, you know, Microsoft Christian—American who enjoys McDonald's and Coca-Cola," Colbert says. "For a lot of American history, I am American neutral. It makes me wonder why that is or whether that's a good thing, but it's also a great place to do comedy from because it oddly separates me from what I imagine a comedian is supposed to be. I am comfortably integrated into American society, and yet I am in a business that's full of outsiders."

Letterman and Carson both had a Midwestern-neighbor charm. Colbert seems as if he was born inside a television, built from an archetypal idea of what A Guy From TV looks like—when he smiles, you half expect a CGI gleam to flash from his teeth with a sound-effects chime. And even though he's dropped the Character's voice-of-God bluster, in his *Late Show* videos and promos he still affects an exaggerated, camera-perfect manner. He's TV's inside man, a guy who can comfortably be given the controls of a network battleship yet cheerfully steer it off the map, humming a chipper little tune.



*Colbert under the theater's main dome. "I am in a business that's full of outsiders," he says*

Likewise, Colbert's *Late Show* is shaping up to be outwardly typical. There will be a monologue and sketches and interviews. There will be a bandstand and a bandleader, New Orleans jazz-funk multi-instrumentalist Jon Batiste. And there will be—as there has been ever since the first lungfish crawled onto land, put on a suit and interviewed a trilobite—a desk. "I don't want to strap dynamite to the wheel and have to reinvent it on a nightly basis," Colbert says. "The desk is not a limitation. The desk can be Snoopy's doghouse."

The show could distinguish itself, though, with the people it puts next to the desk. On CBS, Colbert won't eschew the celeb rodeo entirely, but he's looking to balance it with newsmakers: his first guests are George Clooney and Jeb Bush, with subsequent shows mixing Scarlett Johansson and rapper Kendrick Lamar with the likes of Tesla founder Elon Musk and Uber CEO Travis Kalanick. His most memorable interviews on the *Report* were with scientists, politicians and authors. (He was one of the biggest things to happen to publishing since Oprah.) Much as Fallon gets actors to play games on his Celebrities Are Awesome Funtime Hour, Colbert brought out the smart-fun side of thinkers like astrophysicist Neil deGrasse Tyson.

Being the talk show of ideas might be a practical choice too. Colbert will compete for bookings with Fallon's top-rated *Tonight,* which is also in New York and whose executive producer, Lorne Michaels, has the leverage of controlling NBC's *Saturday Night Live* and *Late Night With Seth Meyers* as well. Colbert and Fallon are friendly—Colbert was on Fallon's first *Tonight* show and says he'd be glad to have him on *Late Show* or vice versa—but business is business.

Colbert's other distinction, of course, is Colbert himself. Kimmel has his pranks, Fallon his rap battles. Colbert, who spent a decade doing in-character improv on nightly TV, relies more on his quick intellect, twisted humor and malleability as an entertainer, something Stewart points to as his protégé's ultimate strength. "He's a better person than he is a performer, and he's the best performer I've ever worked with," Stewart says. "I think he's a far more open performer than some of the greats of the past. The idea that we knew Johnny Carson as a person was ludicrous. But somehow it's a demand we have of Stephen, that we understand who he is underneath all of this. Fortunately for him, the foundation of it is wonderful."

***Kimmel has his pranks, Fallon his rap battles. Colbert will rely more on his quick intellect***

And there will inevitably be the unforeseen events—big news, tributes, tragedies—when the introspective, soulful, actual Colbert could connect with America, for real. We got a glimpse of that guy on Stewart's last *Daily Show,* giving a funny but heartfelt thank-you to his mentor (the Frodo to his Sam, in Middle-earth-speak): "We learned from you by example how to do a show with intention, how to work with clarity, how to treat people with respect."

In the meantime, there's a lot of waiting, writing and listening to speculation about whether Colbert can make a network talk show as vital and exciting as *The Colbert Report.* That show drew its strength from the power of a specific concept and point of view. Network talk shows are by definition about everything; they're the last variety shows, and variety is the opposite of specificity. Even if Colbert is everyman enough to be something to everyone, should he try to be?

All of which is amusing to someone who heard the same sort of questions, in reverse, about the *Report* a decade ago. "They said, 'You can't do a nightly show in character—it won't last until Christmas,'" Colbert remembers. "And now there's a lot of 'You can't do the show *not* in character.' Evidently nobody has any belief that I can do anything."

Just before Letterman went off the air, Colbert stopped by to sit with the host in his office. "We had a very lovely evening," he says. "We had a couple bottles of water, and he answered questions. It was two guys with similar jobs talking shop. And at the end of the night, he showed me how to run the freight elevator, which is how you get down to the theater.

"After that, I went across the street, got myself a cup of coffee and looked at the theater from the outside for about an hour, and I realized that nothing we do right now really matters. I mean, we'll do our best to have a good design and a good logo and a good marquee and hire all the right people and have the right sound and the right guests. But it doesn't really matter until you go and do it. Everything is theory. As Yogi Berra beautifully said, 'In theory, there's no difference between theory and practice. In practice, there is.'"

It's an improv guy's answer: You find your character when you're onstage and on the spot. Maybe especially if that character is you. Viewers will find Stephen Colbert. Now he just has to find himself. ▯

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ILLUSTRATIONS BY BEN KIRCHNER FOR TIME

BEST OF
FALL
ARTS
MOVIES

# The man who would be Jobs

*By Lev Grossman*

ONE OF THE CHALLENGES THAT MICHAEL FASSBENDER FACED IN PLAYing Steve Jobs is that he doesn't particularly look like Steve Jobs. Unlike, say, Tom Cruise, whose name came up early in the casting process, Fassbender lacks the silicon-black hair, the intense eyebrows, that long power nose. "We decided that I didn't look anything like him, and that we weren't going to try to make me look anything like him," Fassbender says. "We just wanted to try to encapsulate the spirit and make our own thing of it." His performance is very much not an impression. High-definition fidelity was not the goal. "It's a portrait. That's what we always said right from the get-go," says Danny Boyle, who directed *Steve Jobs*. "Whatever it is that a portraitist does, it's that we're after, rather than a photograph."

They did keep the clothing accurate, though Fassbender doesn't don Jobs' iconic black turtleneck until the third act. For the Macintosh launch in 1984, Jobs wore a profoundly unflattering, slightly hilarious candy-striped bow tie and a double-breasted blue blazer. "It is quite funny," says Fassbender, who does actually sound like Jobs when he drops his natural Irish accent for the role. "It's almost like he's trying to do something, or be something, that he's not."

*Steve Jobs,* scheduled to arrive in theaters Oct. 9, was written by Aaron Sorkin and based in part on Walter Isaacson's best-selling authorized biography of the same name. (Full disclosure: Isaacson was the managing editor of TIME from 1996 to 2000.) There have been movies about Jobs before, but *Steve Jobs* is by far the most authoritatively credentialed depiction of the man who drove the transformation of at least four entire industries—personal computers, movies, music and phones—before he died in 2011 at 56. But Sorkin wants to be very clear that just as Fassbender isn't doing an impersonation, he did not set out to write a biopic. "It's not an origin story, it's not an invention story, it's not how the Mac was invented," he says. "I thought the audience would be coming in expecting to see a little boy and his father, and he's staring in the window of an electronics shop. Then we would view the greatest hits of Steve Jobs' life. And I didn't think I'd be good at that."

Instead Sorkin structured the movie as three massive set pieces, each depicting one of Jobs' major product launches: the Macintosh, the

PHOTOGRAPH BY MILES ALDRIDGE FOR TIME

*Fassbender says his technophobia is so acute that computers tend to crash whenever he's nearby*

disastrous NeXT in 1988 and finally the triumphant debut of the iMac in 1998. We don't see the launch events themselves: the matter of *Steve Jobs* is in the backstage chaos right before them. The camera shadows Jobs as he paces restlessly through greenrooms and back hallways, hectoring, agonizing, reminiscing, settling scores and at one point—oddly but entirely plausibly for Jobs—washing his feet in a toilet. There's a manic, claustrophobic *Noises Off* feel to it. "As a writer, I'm really a playwright who's pretending to be a screenwriter," Sorkin says. "I'm most comfortable in enclosed spaces."

As Jobs preps to go onstage, the principal players in his drama buzz around him. All of them want something. Steve Wozniak (played by Seth Rogen), the brilliant bearded beta to Jobs' eternal alpha, wants credit for himself and his co-workers. Former Apple CEO and Jobs father figure John Sculley (Jeff Daniels) wants to be exonerated for firing him. Jobs' coldly furious ex-girlfriend Chrisann Brennan (Katherine Waterston), who's on welfare even as Jobs' net worth spikes into the hundreds of millions, wants Jobs to acknowledge their sweet, bright daughter Lisa. Long-suffering marketing chief Joanna Hoffman (Kate Winslet) and programmer–whipping boy Andy Hertzfeld (Michael Stuhlbarg) just want Jobs to act like a human being for five minutes.

But if he did that he wouldn't be Jobs, and Sorkin wouldn't have a movie. In *The Social Network,* for which he won an Oscar, Sorkin had to work hard to gin up drama in the life of Mark Zuckerberg, whose personal affairs are nowhere near that complicated in reality. But Jobs gave him plenty of the real stuff to work with. "It's Shakespearean extremes, isn't it?" says Boyle. "You have tremendous, unbelievable ambition, thwarted and failed, and then you have this comeback. And that is the stuff of drama."

In researching the movie, Sorkin went beyond just reading the biography. He tracked down and talked to people who knew Jobs, including all the movie's major characters. "I was very lucky to be able to talk to John Sculley, who after he left Apple kind of went into hiding a bit in Florida," he says. "There were parts of the record that he wanted to set straight." Sorkin also met with Lisa Brennan-Jobs, which was important because she had declined to participate in Isaacson's biography: "I don't want to put words or thoughts in her mouth, but my sense was that she was reluctant to do anything that might alienate her father or mother or stepmother. But once I started writing the movie, Steve had already passed away." Brennan-Jobs wound up becoming a major figure in the movie—an essential humanizing influence on her father.

In the movie, Jobs is so off-the-charts smart and aggressive, he runs roughshod over everybody within range—he's a character in search of somebody, anybody, who can stand up to him. "Don't try to play dumb," Sculley snaps at him. "You can't pull it off!" You can see why Sorkin is drawn to geniuses like Jobs and Zuckerberg: they're the kind of people who can plausibly utter his high-velocity, high-IQ lines. But Jobs is brilliant only north-by-northwest: he's a genius at telling people what they want—"I guarantee you," he says, "whoever said the customer is always right was a customer"—but he has no idea what he himself wants or how to make himself happy.

*As Jobs, Fassbender channels the tech pioneer's relentless, and frequently alienating, need to get his way*

THE JOBS OF *STEVE JOBS* IS A SLIGHTLY SORKINIZED, FASSBENT VERSION: **FUNNIER AND MORE SELF-AWARE AND MORE VULNERABLE.** BUT HE'S STILL RECOGNIZABLY AUTHENTIC

Jobs is a tough role, not least because Fassbender is onscreen and talking a mile a minute for almost the whole movie and thus was responsible for uttering huge quantities of dialogue. "There was 197 pages of it," he says, "so the real challenge was just getting all of that in my head." Partly for that reason, Boyle shot the movie in three stages, one for each launch event, with a week or two of rehearsal in between. He also insisted on shooting in San Francisco, even though the movie is mostly interiors. "The financiers are going, 'Well, you could film this in Prague, save $5 million!'" he says. "Which you'd just waste on something else. I mean, this place is the birthplace of the modern world. Unless something else happens, the world for the next 50 years is going to be living through the consequences of this work."

The other thing that makes Jobs a tough part is that he has to be made likable, or at least sympathetic, which is something even Jobs didn't always succeed at. He could be cruel to those close to him. He browbeat his colleagues and sometimes found controlling people to be emotionally safer than sharing his real feelings with them. The success of

FASSBENDER: UNIVERSAL PICTURES; JOBS: NEWSCOM

the movie hangs on people wanting to spend two hours in the same room with him.

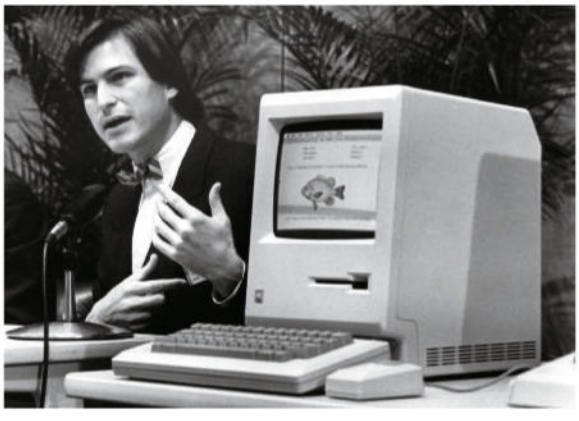
*Steve Jobs* pries its subject open far enough to give us a glimpse of the pain he's guarding so tightly. "I did worry about that," Sorkin says. "I happen to be the father of a daughter too, and I had a hard time getting past his very early treatment of Lisa. Then that turned into the opposite: it was really a way in." It's not lost on Sorkin that Jobs, in denying his child, is echoing a trauma of his own: he was given up for adoption as a baby. "I never really saw him as nasty," Fassbender says. "I couldn't represent him with that perspective on him. I just saw somebody who basically made seismic shifts in the world, and in order to do that you might have quite an abrasive personality to go with it. Here's somebody who was holding on tight to a vision for basically a good 20 years before he was actually allowed to bring it to the forefront."

The Jobs of *Steve Jobs* is a slightly Sorkinized, Fassbent version: funnier and more self-aware and more vulnerable. But he's still recognizably authentic. Fassbender specializes in that layered look, a controlled outer smoothness beneath which furious engines churn—silently, but you never forget they're there. He pulled off the same magic trick in *Prometheus* as an android with dark secrets. (His character could itself pass for a future Apple product.) There is at least one additional point of contact between Fassbender and Jobs. "If you're trying to say, What's the thing about him that is Jobsian?, you get in Michael an uncompromisingness about his acting that's probably the same as what Jobs was like about his work," Boyle says. "Michael is incredibly relaxed and charming off camera, but on camera—I've never worked with anybody who is quite that demanding of himself." It's something Fassbender recognizes about himself, as well as the price one pays for that level of obsessive commitment. "After *Prometheus* I think I did six films back-to-back, and it's fine while you're doing them—O.K., that's cool, I'll just go on to the next one—but it's actually in that downtime period where you stop and think, What's going on with me?"

The resemblance, however, doesn't extend to a mastery of computers: like Sorkin, Fassbender insists that he's hopeless. "I'm terrible with technology," he says. "It behaves strangely around me. Things crash all the time. I rejected the mobile phone for so long, until people were like, 'We can't get in touch with you. This can't go on.'"

This is the second movie about Jobs since his death in 2011, following Ashton Kutcher's 2013 turn in *Jobs,* which was widely faulted for failing to offer any deeper insight into its subject. In September, they'll be joined by the documentary *Steve Jobs: The Man in the Machine*—the tagline: "Bold. Brilliant. Brutal"—by Alex Gibney, who also directed films about Scientology and Enron. In summer 2017, the Santa Fe Opera will stage an original work called *The (R)evolution of Steve Jobs.*

In addition to everything he did to shape modern life and culture, Jobs' life story has become a part of modern mythology. That's because it's not over yet: he continues to play a part in the lives of all of us, for good and ill. In his struggle to resolve the conflicting elements within him, Jobs writ them large across the technosphere that we inhabit: the struggles between freedom and control, open and closed, connection and distraction that we see going on every day. "What he achieved is now fundamental to discussions about freedom, our place in the world, moral choices going forward about power, and information and data," Boyle says. To the extent that *Steve Jobs* sheds light on the enigma of Jobs, it helps us think through those conflicts in our own lives. "I don't believe that Steve Jobs was a bad person," Sorkin says. "I have to write the character as if the character is making the case to God why he should be allowed into heaven." And if anybody could talk his way past God himself, it was Steve Jobs. ◻



^ *Jobs and his bow tie at the 1984 launch of the Macintosh, the first PC to feature a mouse and graphics-based controls*

# Ellen Page comes out a fighter in *Freeheld*

YES, ELLEN PAGE IS TAKING ON A still contentious issue—the right to same-sex marriage—in her first big role since coming out as a lesbian 18 months ago. And yes, that could potentially redefine a career that has so far been built on her image as an edgy wisecracker. She's O.K. with that. Just don't call her brave.

"That's borderline offensive," Page says. The offense is partly the implied stigma to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer people ("I'm never going to be considered brave for playing a straight person, nor should I") and partly the distraction from the real-life people whose story is told in *Freeheld,* out Oct. 2 in limited release. "Laurel and Stacie are far more brave than I'll ever be in my life."

^ *Page plays Stacie Andree, a real-life auto mechanic who joined her partner, a police officer with a diagnosis of terminal cancer, in a fight to receive equal pension benefits*

Laurel is Laurel Hester, a New Jersey state-police lieutenant (played by Julianne Moore) who made national news in 2005 after she became terminally ill and appealed to pass her pension benefits to her longtime partner Stacie Andree (Page). Onscreen, the pair fall in love in endearing fits and starts, then fight the state fiercely. (The film's title refers to Ocean County's Board of Chosen Freeholders, the legislative body that denied Hester's request.) As part of her preparation to play auto mechanic Andree, Page, 28, practiced rotating tires at a garage and repeatedly watched a 2007 documentary about Hester and Andree, also called *Freeheld,* which won an Academy Award for Best Documentary Short Subject. "I felt connected to it," Page says. "It had entered me on an emotional level."

Page was in the room when the first *Freeheld* won its Oscar in 2008, the same year she was a Best Actress nominee for her role as *Juno*'s smart-ass pregnant teen heroine. Shortly after, producers sent her a copy of the documentary, hoping to recruit her for an adaptation. "Just watching the trailer to the documentary, I was weeping," Page says. She signed on, but it took six years to get the project funded. "Getting financing independently for a movie that stars two women is tricky," Page says. Films focused on gay characters are apparently even trickier.

A decade after *Brokeback Mountain* became a breakout hit, nonstraight characters remain rare in Hollywood. A recent GLAAD study found that of the 114 studio films released last year, just 20 featured LGBT characters and only seven gave those characters more than 10 minutes of screen time. Rarer still: Hester and Andree aren't the worldly, wealthy sophisticates seen in many gay cinematic narratives. They're solidly working class, which partly explains why they fight so hard for what's theirs—and why their story took so long to get onscreen.

'PEOPLE WANT DIVERSITY. **THEY WANT IT.** WHETHER THEY CONSCIOUSLY KNOW IT OR NOT.'
—**ELLEN PAGE**

For her part, Page describes the years that *Freeheld* languished—during which she worked in indies like *The East* and box-office hits like *Inception*—as deeply sad for her. She was wrestling with the guilt she felt for staying closeted. "I didn't feel motivated. I was just depressed. Going to meetings or trying to push for things—it was this little flame that was barely flickering. The moment I came out, I felt every cell in my body transform. I was happier than I ever could have imagined."

Though she didn't come out because of *Freeheld*—"it was my own internal journey, for the most part"—Page views her decision as a social responsibility. "Seeing Stacie and Laurel's story and knowing you're going to tell it, you think, There's no way you

cannot be an out gay person if you make this film."

When Page agreed to star in *Freeheld,* same-sex marriage equality was still an unsettled issue. Now the film arrives just months after the Supreme Court affirmed the right nationwide. So does that make the story an afterthought? Page dismisses that question as "pure silliness" and cites hurdles remaining for the gay-rights movement. "We're seeing tons of backlash. The anti-gay rhetoric of the right is turning into 'Gays are actually bigoted toward us because we're not getting to express religious freedom,'" Page says. "I'm an atheist, so I just have no time for it. But that will be the next challenge."

So, too, will be finding projects with the personal and political overtones that speak to a newly out actor. Page has finished filming two new movies, including *Into the Forest,* a postapocalyptic thriller that will debut at the Toronto International Film Festival in September. Neither one touches on gay issues. But she plans to develop her own projects and is working on a Vice series in which she'll document gay culture abroad. Citing the success of *Orange Is the New Black,* she says, "People want diversity. They want it. Whether they consciously know it or not."

Providing that diversity is giving Page motivation that's long been missing. "The context of [*Freeheld*] is so deeply tragic, but for me there was a deep, deep, deep sense of peace on set that I had not felt since I was a teenager and first having fortunate moments in film. If I played gay characters for the rest of my career, I'd be thrilled."

—DANIEL D'ADDARIO

PAGE: PHIL CARUSO—LIONSGATE; EVEREST: UNIVERSAL PICTURES; ILLUSTRATION BY BEN KIRCHNER FOR TIME

## MOVIE CALENDAR

**SEPT. 18**
***SICARIO***
Playing an FBI agent caught up in an elaborate cartel investigation, Emily Blunt is the toughest she's been since (yes) *The Devil Wears Prada* in this grim noir—the title is Spanish for "hit man."

**SEPT. 25**
***THE INTERN***
It's not complicated: Nancy Meyers is one of the most reliable directors for those who love snappy jokes and gracious interior design. This time Anne Hathaway stars as Robert De Niro's new boss.

**SEPT. 30**
***THE WALK***
Philippe Petit (Joseph Gordon-Levitt) taking his 1974 high-wire stroll between the Twin Towers is the climax of this dizzying drama, which shows viewers Petit's motivations and grueling prep work.

*Gyllenhaal, left, plays expedition leader Scott Fischer*

**SEPT. 25**
***EVEREST***
Coming off this summer's boxing drama *Southpaw,* Jake Gyllenhaal takes on a more treacherous feat of strength: **summiting the world's tallest mountain.** In Icelandic director Baltasar Kormakur's epic, Gyllenhaal plays an expedition leader who joins climbers including Jason Clarke and Josh Brolin in a face-off against Everest and the elements. The film chronicles events during a 1996 blizzard that led many to question Everest's thrill-seeking appeal. It's an appeal that this movie, shot in Nepal and depicting the Himalayas' primal beauty, is unlikely to dampen.

*SUFFRAGETTE,* OUT OCT. 23, STARS CAREY MULLIGAN AND MERYL STREEP AS MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH WOMEN'S MOVEMENT TO GET THE VOTE

**OCT. 2**
***THE MARTIAN***
This year's space epic—à la *Gravity* or *Interstellar*—may be a bit more human-scale. The novel it's based on takes readers methodically through the logistics of survival for an astronaut (Matt Damon) abandoned on Mars.

**OCT. 16**
***BRIDGE OF SPIES***
To tell the story of a lawyer at the center of a Cold War international incident (Tom Hanks), director Steven Spielberg turned to writers familiar with subterfuge and plot twists: Joel and Ethan Coen.

**OCT. 23**
***BURNT***
Ten years ago, Bradley Cooper played a character based on culinary hero Anthony Bourdain on TV's *Kitchen Confidential.* The show ended, but Cooper, here playing a gifted chef with addiction issues, evidently stayed hungry for seconds.

**NOV. 6**
***SPECTRE***
In Daniel Craig's fourth outing as James Bond, he has a new M (Ralph Fiennes) and is fighting a familiar enemy, as SPECTRE, the crime syndicate from early Bond films, emerges with Christoph Waltz as its face.

**NOV. 13**
***BY THE SEA***
Angelina Jolie and Brad Pitt smoke (cigarettes) and smolder (sensuously) in their first onscreen collaboration since 2005's *Mr. and Mrs. Smith,* directed this time by Jolie. The scenic coastline of Malta co-stars.

# Inside the world of ballet's tormented swans

*Sarah Hay plays a rising ballet star in* Flesh and Bone

IN THE NEW SERIES *FLESH and Bone* (premiering Nov. 8 on Starz), a talented young ballerina moves to New York while being pursued by a violent man from her past, finds herself used as bait to ensure her dance company's funding and—as graphically as one can—loses a toenail. And that's in the first two episodes. This is a show that's gleefully unafraid to indulge in soapy twists. It's like an eight-part version of the classic dance film *The Red Shoes,* infused with the DNA of *Scandal.*

Moira Walley-Beckett, who created *Flesh and Bone,* was approached by Starz to create a drama about ballet while she was still working on *Breaking Bad.* (Last year she won an Emmy for writing one of that show's final episodes.) "I came up with the show in my seedy motel room in Albuquerque," Walley-Beckett says. "Starz asked how I was going to fit in all the story. I said, 'We will.'"

*Flesh and Bone* follows Claire (Sarah Hay) as she settles into her new life at the fictional American Ballet Company, fending off overexertion and her fellow dancers' jealousy when she quickly becomes the company's star. To create Claire's world, Walley-Beckett drew from her own experience studying ballet from age 4. She insisted on casting professional dancers rather than actors one could cut around (as in 2010's *Black Swan,* in which Hay, a soloist at the Semperoper Ballet in Dresden, Germany, also appeared). "It's not just pretty," Walley-Beckett says of the ballet world. "We're watching them sweat and breathe and leap and soar. It's not editing magic, or magical realism. It's down and dirty."

*Flesh and Bone* charges, unprettily, into a TV landscape full of stories about the lives of morally compromised men. In that context, the currents of passion and jealousy that float freely among the ballerinas are rare and welcome. Walley-Beckett says she kept *Breaking Bad*'s intensity but reversed the circumstances. "Claire's journey is the opposite of an antihero's. She's got so many emotional deficits, and her quest over the series is to be an ordinary person within these vicious circumstances."

That may be a worthy goal, but a dancer as gifted as Claire can never be truly *ordinary.* And her journey through what Walley-Beckett calls a "shark tank, where everybody's naked, dating, loves each other, hates each other," promises to move her further from sanity. Starz will be releasing all of *Flesh and Bone*'s episodes to its on-demand platforms in a Netflix-style drop the day of the show's premiere, but Walley-Beckett doesn't anticipate extreme binge watching. "I'd be shocked if people can get past four in a sitting without needing medication, a call to their therapist or a stiff drink."

—DANIEL D'ADDARIO

CREATOR MOIRA WALLEY-BECKETT DREW FROM HER OWN EXPERIENCE STUDYING BALLET, INSISTING ON **CASTING PROFESSIONAL DANCERS** RATHER THAN ACTORS ONE COULD CUT AROUND

## TV CALENDAR

**AUG. 28**

***NARCOS* (NETFLIX)**
Netflix's latest prestige drama traces the DEA effort to take down Colombian drug kingpin Pablo Escobar. Though his crimes have been well documented on film, the 10-part series digs into the dark history of Latin America's politics and drug cartels.

**SEPT. 15**

***THE BASTARD EXECUTIONER* (FX)**
*Sons of Anarchy* creator Kurt Sutter returns to FX with a bloody Middle Ages drama. Sutter will both write and star in the show, which follows a knight under Edward I (played by newcomer Lee Jones) who can't escape violence even after he vows to stop fighting.

**SEPT. 21**

***MINORITY REPORT* (FOX)**
This reboot of the 2002 film doesn't star Tom Cruise, but Steven Spielberg—who directed the movie—is producing. Set in 2065, 10 years after the "pre-crime" program from the film has been dismantled, the show follows one of the now unemployed precogs as he tries to piece together the partial clues of the future crimes he sees.

**SEPT. 24**

***HEROES REBORN* (NBC)**
The four-season run of *Heroes,* which concluded in 2010, left many fans frustrated: a show with a brilliant premise often

SEPT. 22

### *THE MUPPETS* (ABC)

Ahead of their long-awaited return to evening television, the Muppets have been on a publicity tear: Miss Piggy not only declared herself a feminist but also ended things with long-time beau Kermit, who has reportedly taken up with another pig. These tongue-in-cheek flourishes promise **a funnier, more adult version of the Muppets** than audiences have seen since creator Jim Henson passed away in 1990.

seemed to fall short of its promise. In keeping with the vogue for revivals, though, NBC is giving the show a second chance with a limited-run series featuring returning stars (Masi Oka) along with newcomers (*Chuck*'s Zachary Levi).

SEPT. 27

### *BLOOD & OIL* (ABC)

Two guilty-pleasure TV heroes—*Gossip Girl*'s Chace Crawford and *Miami Vice*'s Don Johnson—unite for a soap opera set in North Dakota's oil fields. The series hinges on Johnson's portrayal of a ruthless petroleum tycoon—call it *Dallas* meets *There Will Be Blood.*

OCT. 2

### *DR. KEN* (ABC)

Comedian Ken Jeong's long résumé *(The Hangover, Knocked Up, Community)* has finally earned him his own show. In it, he plays both unabashedly rude doctor—his real-life profession before he tried comedy—and controlling but loving father.

OCT. 7

### *AMERICAN HORROR STORY: HOTEL* (FX)

The gruesome anthology series enters its fifth season without Jessica Lange but with familiar faces (including Kathy Bates and Sarah Paulson) and a famous newbie. Lady Gaga takes a break from her pop career to play the owner of a mysterious inn.

NETFLIX'S *NARCOS* FOLLOWS THE EFFORTS OF A MEXICAN DEA AGENT SENT TO COLOMBIA TO HUNT THE DRUG LORD PABLO ESCOBAR

OCT. 10

### *THE LAST KINGDOM* (BBC AMERICA)

Bernard Cornwell's *Saxon Stories* novels provide the source material for an eight-part drama pitting the early English against invading Vikings. David Dawson, a veteran of British shows including *Ripper Street* and *Peaky Blinders,* plays King Alfred the Great, known as the uniter of England.

OCT. 12

### *CRAZY EX-GIRLFRIEND* (THE CW)

Rachel Bloom stars as a woman who gives up her partnership at a New York law firm in order to follow an old flame to suburbia. The only problem? He's with someone else. The musical comedy was originally developed by Showtime, but the CW picked it up hoping that it can replicate the success of the CW's Golden Globe–winning show *Jane the Virgin.*

OCT. 31

### *ASH VS. EVIL DEAD* (STARZ)

Director Sam Raimi and B-movie hero Bruce Campbell team up for a sequel to their *Evil Dead* films, a franchise that's been around since 1981 in many incarnations. The series acknowledges its cult-TV status: *Xena: Warrior Princess* actor Lucy Lawless also co-stars.

NOV. 5

### *ANGEL FROM HELL* (CBS)

Mere months after *Glee*'s final episode, that show's Emmy-winning bully Jane Lynch is already back on your TV set in a slightly more altruistic role in this show from *Scrubs* producer Tad Quill. Her character claims to be the guardian angel of a perfectionist played by Maggie Lawson, but she wreaks blasphemous havoc in the process.

NOV. 15

### *INTO THE BADLANDS* (AMC)

Based on the Chinese novel *Journey to the West,* this dystopian martial-arts drama is set in a world where America is run by seven leaders, each of whom has a personal army. The show follows a warrior and his young companion as they try to find enlightenment.

NOV. 20

### *THE MAN IN THE HIGH CASTLE* (AMAZON)

Amazon's buzziest new show this year is the television adaptation of the Philip K. Dick alternate-history novel of the same name, which imagines what America would be like if the Axis powers had won World War II. Executive-produced by director Ridley Scott, the show is set in 1962 and shows a nation split into two halves, one controlled by Nazis and the other by Japanese; war threatens to break out between the two.

*Melissa Benoist stars in* Supergirl

OCT. 26

### *SUPERGIRL* (CBS)

Before Wonder Woman and Captain Marvel make their big-screen debuts, Supergirl becomes the first contemporary female superhero to fly solo. Melissa Benoist describes her Supergirl as **the "Annie Hall of superheroes"**—but she also understands the weight of the role. "This is not Gloria Steinem, but I think it's important," Benoist says. "Playing [her] has taught me how to exert power with positivity and hope."

FLESH AND BONE: STARZ; THE MUPPETS: ABC; SUPERGIRL: CBS; ILLUSTRATION BY BEN KIRCHNER FOR TIME

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BEST OF
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# A voice to say, This land is my land

*By Vanessa De Luca*

TO BE BLACK IN AMERICA IS TO NAVIGATE AN EXISTENCE WHERE ONE is at once—and perhaps perpetually—seen and unseen, valued and devalued, by a society that has historically questioned the worth of those it once enslaved for profit. This painful dichotomy has been a recurring narrative in the canon of African-American literature, both fiction and nonfiction.

The current national debate over whether Black Lives Matter has only heightened our sensitivities to these questions of race, identity and belonging. And it's in this atmosphere of both tension and attention that three thought-provoking contemporary authors offer works taking on the complexities of black life in America—past, present and future. In ways wholly individual but similarly intricate, Margo Jefferson, Dr. Damon Tweedy and Ta-Nehisi Coates examine the impact of race on our expectations and experiences. And in doing so, they challenge us to as well.

In her memoir *Negroland* (Sept. 8), Jefferson, a Pulitzer Prize–winning culture critic, gives us a rare look at the lives of Chicago's black elite during the 1950s and 1960s. Raised by her father Ronald, who was head of pediatrics at Provident, the country's oldest black hospital, and her mother Irma, a stay-at-home mother and socialite, Jefferson was fed a steady diet of dos, don'ts and lessons in comportment as part of her social standing as a member of the upper-middle-class world she calls Negroland.

The responsibilities of representing the race were many and far-reaching—as were the pressures to distance oneself from "undesirable Negroes" who were often viewed as inferior.

> *Children in Negroland were warned that few Negroes enjoyed privilege or plenty and that most whites would be glad to see them returned to indigence, deference, and subservience. Children there were taught that most other Negroes ought to be emulating us when too many of them (out of envy or ignorance) went on behaving in ways that encouraged racial prejudice.*

Jefferson's own childhood in the Third Race, as she called it, meant ballet lessons with her sister Denise, peeking over the bannister at their parents' dinner parties and attending the University of

PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREAS LASZLO KONRATH FOR TIME

*Margo Jefferson, a Pulitzer Prize–winning critic, writes of a childhood among Chicago's black elite*

Chicago Laboratory School, one of two private schools that accepted black students at the time. Moments of historical strife punctuated everyday idyll; while Jefferson and her family were living in a house in the South Side neighborhood of Park Manor, a white mob formed to stone the houses and burn crosses.

As the civil rights era gives way to the Black Power movement, Jefferson struggles to embrace a changing culture she must learn anew to navigate. She considered herself a feminist, but the women's movement, she points out, was considered "a white woman's thing, an indulgence, even an assertion of privilege." Her efforts to find acceptance and fit in—as when she tempers her diction and mannerisms around black nationalists for fear they might see her as not "black enough"—are raw and revelatory. And she wrestles deeply with a condition sometimes seen as another privilege black women were not afforded: depression.

Jefferson's descriptions of how she "craved" the right to despair are some of the most haunting parts of the book, particularly the section in which she shares notebook entries from her youth, which she called "death aphorisms." Another entry ends, "If I have to talk about RACE and its subdivisions—ethnicity, culture, religion—any more, I will do a Rumpelstiltskin. I will stamp my foot and disappear into the earth."

Where Jefferson struggles to move past the traps of privilege and pedigree, for Damon Tweedy, they loom, just as problematic, on the horizon of his education and career. In his book *Black Man in a White Coat* (Sept. 8), he writes of his mother, who never attended college and worked for 40 years in the federal government, and his father, who did not finish high school and worked as a meat cutter in a grocery store. Tweedy counts himself fortunate when he wins a full scholarship to Duke medical school. (He also holds a law degree from Yale.) But he questions his readiness for the grueling program; having graduated from a state school, unlike many of his Ivy-educated peers, "I felt like a scrawny thirteen-year-old on a basketball court with grown men." The ground was uneven in other ways too.

At one point, a professor, Dr. Gale, approaches him in a lecture hall. "Are you here to fix the lights?" he asks, not recognizing his own student. The same man later asks Tweedy to be a researcher in his lab; the answer is no. Throughout med school, Tweedy bristles at the steady classroom reminders of the broader health problems of the black race:

> *Constantly hearing about the medical frailties of black people picked at the scab of my insecurity. Over time I came to dread this racial aspect of the lectures so much that I felt intense, perverse relief whenever a professor mentioned that a disease was more common among white people.*

*Margo Jefferson's and Damon Tweedy's books follow on the heels of Ta-nehisi Coates' provocative and extraordinary work*

Now an assistant professor of psychiatry at Duke University Medical Center and staff physician at the Durham VA Medical Center in North Carolina, Tweedy has reconciled his background with his life experiences, which together make him uniquely qualified to serve the communities he treats.

In one compelling chapter, Tweedy describes Leslie, a crack-addicted pregnant patient who loses her child, and how the other members of the medical team treated her: they were jaded, as though her entire situation was presaged by, expected from, her race.

"Much of my life had been devoted to combating and defeating vicious racial stereotypes," Tweedy writes. But "I suddenly felt naked, as if someone had stripped me of my white coat and left both of us to share the same degrading spotlight." The section stands out as a poignant example of how prejudices can cripple us all.

Jefferson's and Tweedy's books follow on the heels of another provocative and extraordinary work published earlier this summer. Coates' *Between the World and Me,* written as a letter to his adolescent son—Samori, named for Samori Touré, who founded the Wassalou Empire (in what is now Guinea) but died in French captivity—seeks to come to terms with a world that has failed to acknowledge his humanity as a black man in America.

In the wake of, and in part inspired by, the tragic deaths of Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown, Renisha McBride and others, Coates' work succeeds in its unflinching honesty. He recounts examples of historic institutional racism and how this legacy affected him growing up in Baltimore, and lays the framework for a crucial conversation about the worth of black lives in America.

How has our country's sordid and violent heritage kept so many black men—including Ta-Nehisi Coates, including Damon Tweedy—emotionally imprisoned? Why are we sometimes incapable of believing in a world where black people can simply be seen as human beings worthy of understanding and liberation?

Coates' work reveals a lifelong quest to resolve these inner conflicts and fight off a prevailing sense of hopelessness. He wants to do so, if not for himself, then for his son, whose optimistic approach to life convinces Coates there is yet room for hope. But to be hopeful, we've got to acknowledge there is still healing to be done. Otherwise, to paraphrase Coates, it is all too easy to look away.

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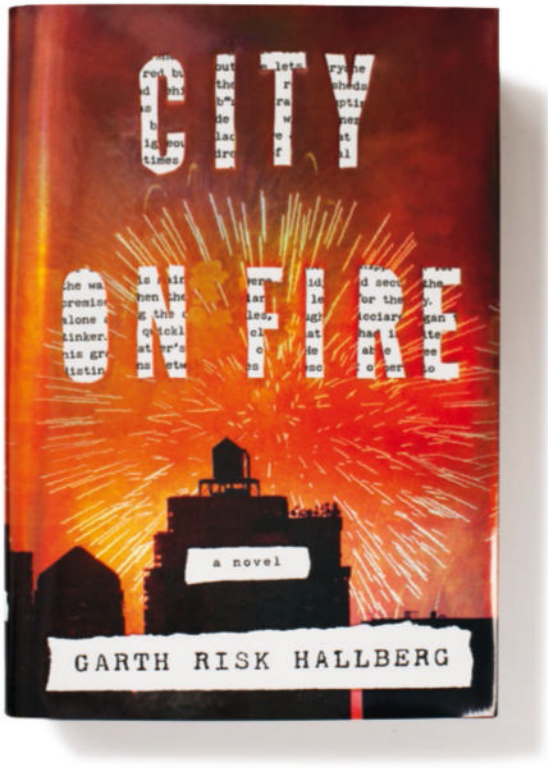
*De Luca is the editor in chief of* Essence *magazine*




# The Empire City burns bright in a major debut novel

BY THE NUMBERS, *CITY ON FIRE,* GARTH RISK HALLBERG'S first novel, is doubly notable: for its 944 pages and its reported $2 million advance—a hefty sum for any work of fiction, especially a debut. Hollywood helped with the payday; Scott Rudin, the producer behind literary adaptations like Michael Cunningham's *The Hours* and Cormac McCarthy's *No Country for Old Men,* bought movie rights before the book even had a publisher, prompting a two-day bidding war among 10 houses. (The winner: Knopf.)

So what tantalized everyone? *City on Fire* weaves a web through 1970s New York City, flashing forward and back, and uptown and downtown, with cinematic flair. Grungy record stores and palatial apartments serve as backdrops to colorful characters—an unhappily married heiress; a semi-closeted Georgia transplant; an addict-artist—united by a mystery: Who shot Samantha Cicciaro, a Long Island teen turned downtown punk? It's Clue meets legendary music club CBGB, but Hallberg elevates his whodunit with poignancy about the tumultuous decade too often in the shadow of the *Bright Lights, Big City* '80s and *Sex and the City* '90s. His New York City is ablaze, with fireworks, trash-can infernos and the burning Bronx. —SARAH BEGLEY

ILLUSTRATION BY BEN KIRCHNER FOR TIME

EISENBERG'S 28 STORIES IN *BREAM GIVES ME HICCUPS* RANGE FROM THE DIARY OF A 9-YEAR-OLD FOOD CRITIC TO LETTERS ABOUT STOLEN RAMEN

## FALL BOOKS

**JESSE EISENBERG**
***BREAM GIVES ME HICCUPS***
An actor's book of comic tales may seem a Franco-ish stunt, but Eisenberg's characters are lively, and his awareness of universal neuroses (yours and his alike) shows he's more than a hobbyist.

**SALMAN RUSHDIE**
***TWO YEARS EIGHT MONTHS AND TWENTY EIGHT NIGHTS***
The title adds up to 1,001 nights—but this is New York, not Arabia. After a Sandy-like storm, some people develop powers akin to Islam's mythical jinn.

**MARGARET ATWOOD**
***THE HEART GOES LAST***
*The Handmaid's Tale* author has long channeled our fears about the future. Here she goes dystopian again, writing about a society in which only those willing to be jailed are safe.

**SLOANE CROSLEY**
***THE CLASP***
Three college friends reunite for a wedding but end up on a much bigger adventure: searching for the famous piece of jewelry from Guy de Maupassant's story "The Necklace."

**PATTI SMITH**
***M TRAIN***
The rocker returns with another memoir of her life in art and letters, a collage of dream sequences, globe-trotting and musings from her seat at Greenwich Village's Café 'Ino.

**STACY SCHIFF**
***THE WITCHES***
The Pulitzer Prize winner behind *Cleopatra* tackles another angle on female power: the Salem "witches" and the trials that killed 19 men and women—and two dogs—in 1692.

**JOHN IRVING**
***AVENUE OF MYSTERIES***
The New Englander of *Garp* and *Cider House* fame follows a Mexican immigrant who grapples with his past on a vacation to the Philippines.

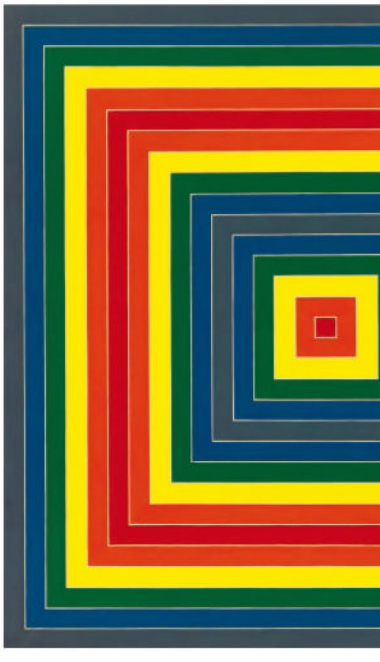
# From Dutch treats and far-flung Pop to Picasso in 3-D

TWO OF THE BIGGEST MUSEUM SHOWS of the season look at the work of one ever changing artist and another who made a very big change. "Picasso Sculpture" at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City, starting Sept. 14, is the first U.S. retrospective of Picasso's solid media since 1967. You could say sculptures were a sideline for Picasso—he produced "only" about 700, compared with some 4,500 paintings, and he kept most of them in his own possession. (MOMA will be showing more than 100.) Yet who but Picasso could pursue a secondary line of creative output, in on-again, off-again episodes, that repeatedly changed the course of art? He worked in plaster and bronze, sheet metal and clay, and, when it suited him, threw in chicken wire, bones and pebbles. He knew the great traditions of sculpture going back to the Classical era, and he knew when it was time to break with them. And that was most of the time.

The man at the center of "Frank Stella: A Retrospective," which opens Oct. 30 at New York's Whitney Museum of American Art, was one of the crucial inventors of minimalist painting. In the late 1950s and early '60s, he made big canvases of uninflected black pigment, their shapes intensified by rows of symmetrical white lines or bands of bright, flat color. They reduced painting to a conceptual ground zero. "What you see is what you see" became his famously fundamentalist motto. But in the 1970s Stella left the flatlands behind and started making wildly colored wall pieces with things like arabesques of spray-painted aluminum jumping into your lap. The idea was to reintroduce into abstraction—always the first principle of his faith—the spatial drama of Old Master art. Did he? You bet.

—RICHARD LACAYO

She-Goat *(1950) is one of Picasso's most realistic sculptures, but its anatomy is strictly irregular. To piece together the plaster original, later cast in bronze, the artist scavenged a palm frond to serve as its forehead and a woven basket for its belly. The udder he made by attaching two clay cups*



*The flatness of Stella's early work was no decorative choice. It was an article of faith—that serious art was played on a 2-D field. But as soon as he introduced pulsing color, as in* Gran Cairo *(1962), back came the illusion of deep space*



PICASSO SCULPTURE: MOMA, NY. MRS. SIMON GUGGENHEIM FUND, ESTATE OF PABLO PICASSO/ARS, NY; THE EY EXHIBITION: THE WORLD GOES POP: PRIVATE COLLECTION © DELIA CANCELA; CLASS DISTINCTIONS: LENT BY HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH II; COURTESY MUSEUM OF FINE

"JACKSON POLLOCK: BLIND SPOTS," OPENING NOV. 20 AT THE DALLAS MUSEUM OF ART, EXPLORES POLLOCK'S LITTLE-KNOWN BLACK-AND-WHITE DRIPS

**SEPT. 17**

**"THE WORLD GOES POP"**

Say the words *Pop art* to most people and they conjure up a bunch of wild young Americans, like Andy Warhol, James Rosenquist and Roy Lichtenstein, sifting through the glittering raw materials of American mass culture—soup cans, comic strips, Marilyn and Elvis. But this big show at London's Tate Modern remembers an entire Pop planet, tracing how in the 1960s and '70s the new art spread across Europe, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East, in works like *Corazón Destrozado (above)* by Argentine Delia Cancela.

**SEPT. 20**

**THE BROAD MUSEUM**

Businessman, philanthropist and major Los Angeles power broker Eli Broad got Frank Gehry's Disney Concert Hall off the ground, co-founded the L.A. Museum of Contemporary Art and watched the L.A. County Museum of Art add an entire building to house his contemporary megacollection before letting drop—he might say "clarifying"—that he wasn't giving it to them. What he actually had in mind was his own museum, now complete. Designed by Diller Scofidio + Renfro of High Line fame, the Broad will house more than 2,000 works—an instant institution in downtown L.A.

*Rembrandt's* The Shipbuilder and His Wife

**OCT. 11**

**"CLASS DISTINCTIONS: DUTCH PAINTING IN THE ERA OF REMBRANDT AND VERMEER"**

In the 17th century, European painting was still largely dominated by religious imagery, classical mythology or the silky display of royals and aristocrats. **But artists of the feisty new Dutch republic—prosperous, mostly Protestant citizens at the heart of an overseas empire—dived headfirst into the ordinary life of their times.** In a major loan show, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts examines 75 works by Rembrandt, Vermeer, Hals, Jan Steen and others for insights into the pastimes and status symbols of all layers of Dutch society, from beggars to burghers—like the couple in Rembrandt's *The Shipbuilder and his Wife*—to the bluest of blue bloods and the strivers who modeled themselves after them. The show ends with scenes of the public places—in the streets and town squares, on frozen canals—where people of every station met, mingled and ogled one another.

**SEPT. 20**

**"MARK ROTHKO: A RETROSPECTIVE"**

Of the Abstract Expressionists who painfully navigated their sudden fame after World War II, Rothko was the most saturnine and inward. He was 66 when he took his own life in 1970, ending a career that culminated in his great hypnotic wafers of gaseous pigment, like an untitled blue-and-green work from 1957 *(left).* This 60-canvas retrospective at the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, is Rothko's first career survey in the U.S. since 1998.

**OCT. 4**

**"NEW OBJECTIVITY: MODERN GERMAN ART IN THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC"**

With Germany in upheaval after World War I, many artists rejected the Expressionism of prior decades for a mordant and sharp-edged realism. Max Beckmann, Otto Dix and their kith turned a cold eye on their nation's prostitutes, crippled war vets and crumbling cities, but also its emancipated women and mass merchandise—all of it hurtling toward disaster. Great change was in the air, but Adolf Hitler was in the wings. The L.A. County Museum of Art surveys the scene.

ARTS, BOSTON; MARK ROTHKO: A RETROSPECTIVE: NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART, WASHINGTON, GIFT OF THE MARK ROTHKO FOUNDATION INC. © 1998 BY KATE ROTHKO PRIZEL AND CHRISTOPHER ROTHKO; FRANK STELLA: A RETROSPECTIVE: WHITNEY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART, NY; PURCHASE, WITH FUNDS FROM THE FRIENDS OF THE WHITNEY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART 63.34; ILLUSTRATION BY BEN KIRCHNER FOR TIME

BEST OF
FALL
ARTS
MUSIC

# A new star is bending the rules of R&B

*By Nolan Feeney*

IN THE MUSIC VIDEO FOR "CAN'T FEEL MY FACE," THE NO. 1 SINGLE BY the Weeknd, the artist flames out during a nightclub performance—literally. While he busts out dance moves for an increasingly hostile audience, one concertgoer hurls a lighter onstage and sets him ablaze. It's only as he's incinerated midset that the crowd starts to enjoy itself.

For a performer with arguably the hottest song of the summer, there's a simple interpretation there for the taking: this guy's career is on fire! And it is: 25-year-old Abel Tesfaye, a.k.a. the Weeknd, has been hailed by critics as the second coming of Michael Jackson and credited with bringing a new artistic integrity to R&B. But there's a darker anxiety in that video too, about how the masses' attention may end up consuming him.

When Tesfaye first began releasing music in 2010 as the Weeknd—intentionally misspelled to avoid confusion with Canadian rock band the Weekend—fans didn't know his real name or what he looked like. They were just dazzled by his experimental, nightmarish odes to getting high and getting laid. As his profile rose, Tesfaye avoided attention, granting only a handful of interviews in his career. (He agreed to answer questions for this story over email.) He's mysterious enough that were it not for the talons of dreadlocks crowning his head, he could probably walk the streets unrecognized—a rare luxury for an artist with the biggest song in the country.

That elusiveness didn't stop him from becoming the poster boy for a darker, more intimate and more eclectic brand of R&B that's emerged in the past half-decade. The Weeknd, alongside artists like introverted Internet favorite Frank Ocean, guitar-slinging sex god Miguel or even sensitive-guy rapper Drake, craft adventurous tunes that draw from an array of styles—electronic dance music, indie rock—so liberally that even dubbing them alternative R&B, as many critics have, can feel inadequate. Several artists routinely included in this bunch have expressed discontent with that term, which they dismiss as shorthand for black artists who sing. Tesfaye is one of the few who welcome it. "Alternative R&B is in my soul," he says. "It's not going anywhere."

Yet after scoring three Top Five singles this year alone, Tesfaye is poised to prove that "alternative" has become anything but when

PHOTOGRAPH BY PETER VAN AGTMAEL

*Abel Tesfaye, better known as the Weeknd, has a fan in Taylor Swift, who brought him onstage during a recent stop on her 1989 World Tour*

his second studio album, *Beauty Behind the Madness,* arrives Aug. 28. "I want to make pop cool again," he says. "The only way I can do that is by being ambitious and grand."

The son of Ethiopian immigrants, Tesfaye grew up in Toronto and dropped out of high school at age 17. He spent the next few years mostly broke, indulging in a haze of drug-fueled debauchery that provided fodder for three mixtapes, album-length batches of songs released for free online, in 2011. The material quickly impressed both critics and fellow Canadian Drake, who that year recruited Tesfaye for his album *Take Care.* But it wasn't just the provocative lyrics or Tesfaye's prolific output that caught their attention. There's a cinematic quality to his music: songs often begin as movie trailers do, with gritty synthesizers and muffled percussion putting audiences on edge. A few tracks on his new studio album kick off with bursts of fuzzy distortion that would sound at home in a disaster flick. Tesfaye's voice too can sound menacing and ghostly, like a call coming from inside the house.

After signing a record deal, Tesfaye repackaged his mixtapes as 2012's platinum-selling compilation *Trilogy* and got to work on his studio debut, 2013's *Kiss Land.* For that album, Tesfaye said he was inspired by directors like David Cronenberg and Ridley Scott while writing songs that captured the unfamiliarity and instability of life on the road. But after *Kiss Land* sold only a fraction of the copies of its predecessor, Tesfaye realized he cared more about success than he thought. "I just felt like I was selling myself short," he says of deciding to finally embrace the spotlight. "I want the world to hear my music and see the movement my fans and I have created."

Earlier this year, he cracked radio with a prominent spot on the *Fifty Shades of Grey* soundtrack, which sent his sensual slow jam "Earned It" to No. 3 on *Billboard*'s Hot 100 chart. "I was arousing people's curiosity," he says. "It made me feel confident in myself before I started connecting with the monster hitmakers."

Next he teamed up with Swedish producer Max Martin, one of those "monster hitmakers," who's written for Britney Spears and Katy Perry and recently oversaw Taylor Swift's move from country star to Top 40 royalty. Martin and Tesfaye had first worked together on "Love Me Harder," Tesfaye's 2014 duet with pint-size diva Ariana Grande, and the experience was positive enough that Tesfaye asked Martin to inject some mainstream energy to balance his music's darker edges. "I had to make it clear that when any producers work on my album, they would have to come into my world," he says. "Max and I bashed heads, but it only made our relationship stronger. I knew that I was jumping into different waters, and he knew he was working with a different kind of artist."

'I HAD TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT WHEN ANY PRODUCERS WORK ON MY ALBUM, **THEY WOULD HAVE TO COME INTO MY WORLD.**'

*Beauty Behind the Madness* doesn't sound like labored compromise. The explosive Martin-produced single "Can't Feel My Face" and its pulsing sibling "In the Night" are Tesfaye's poppiest songs to date, but they're anomalies on an album more concerned with drawing out the tension than finding release in climaxes. The songs are more sprawling than ever—"Losers" bumps along a booming West Coast rap beat and ends with a triumphant horn section—but more has stayed the same than not. Over throbbing drums on "Often," Tesfaye brags about his bed-hopping prowess, which he once relied on for shelter during a period of homelessness. On the soulful Kanye West–produced "Tell Your Friends," Tesfaye contends he's still the man "with the hair singing 'bout poppin' pills, f-cking bitches."

R&B has long been tangled up in the bedsheets, but the Weeknd's numbness and vulgarity set him apart from his peers. Miguel can be just as explicit about sex, but he also sings about pillow talk and the romance of mornings after. Drake has plenty of bedroom boasts, but his emotional rhymes have earned him the title of Rapper Most in Touch With His Feelings. For Ocean—who revealed before the release of his 2012 debut, *Channel Orange,* that some songs were about falling in love with a man—references to sex are subtler, present in his lyrics but rarely the main focus of his storytelling. (Miguel's critically acclaimed *Wildheart* came out in June, while both Drake and Ocean have albums in the works.)

Yet for all the sex Tesfaye's having, it doesn't sound like it's very much fun. "When I'm f-cked up, that's the real me," he sings on the twisted booty-call anthem "The Hills," which references Wes Craven's 1977 horror classic, *The Hills Have Eyes.* "[They're] always trying to send me off to rehab/ Drugs started feelin' like it's decaf."

For listeners uninterested in the erotic, the Weeknd will appeal mostly as a study of a man flirting with his demons instead of battling them. For his part, Tesfaye is unconcerned about alienating listeners with the graphic subject matter. "Is [Stanley] Kubrick's *Eyes Wide Shut* not artistic?" he says. "Why can't I paint a vivid picture in my lyrics? Art is art. If you can create something that can make people feel, then you are an artist." Artistry, not popularity, is still the goal—even if he has to go up in flames.

*Canadian rapper Drake was one of the Weeknd's biggest and earliest fans*

PREVIOUS PAGE: MAGNUM PHOTOS; DRAKE: FINN TAYLOR

**BEIRUT**
***NO NO NO***
The indie band returns for its first album in four years. It's a stripped-down effort that follows a turbulent period that included a canceled concert tour and lead singer Zach Condon's divorce. *Out Sept. 11*

**LANA DEL REY**
***HONEYMOON***
The controversial chanteuse comes out with her third full-length set, which promises to return to the mournful lyrics and heavy drums of her debut and move away from the lo-fi rock of her sophomore LP, *Ultraviolence*. *Out Sept. 18*

**DISCLOSURE**
***CARACAL***
The two 20-something Brits behind Disclosure have some very powerful friends. Their new album includes the likes of Lorde, Sam Smith, Miguel and the Weeknd singing over moody pop beats. *Out Sept. 25*

**JOHN GRANT**
***GREY TICKLES, BLACK PRESSURE***
The former front man of '90s alternative band the Czars pushes his thinky emotionalism still further on his third solo effort. By his telling, the title refers to the Icelandic term for midlife crisis and the Turkish term for nightmare. *Out Oct. 2*

**WAVVES**
***V***
Lead singer Nathan Williams has feuded in public with his label over his desire to share tracks early, but for fans of the San Diego rock group, the wait will have been worth it. Fittingly enough, it's the group's fifth album. *Out Oct. 2*

*Duran Duran's Simon Le Bon*

**DURAN DURAN**
***PAPER GODS***
It's not new-wave music if the artist isn't keeping it new. And '80s favorite Duran Duran has reinvented itself yet again as a band willing to host the most unexpected musical party of the year. Its 14th studio album features star producers Mark Ronson and Nile Rodgers, with **Janelle Monáe and Lindsay Lohan among the guest vocalists.** It's a publicity-courting move by a group that rose to fame on the back of its glamour as much as its musical chops. And it isn't shy about harnessing that legacy: the new album cover features images from classic Duran Duran videos like "Rio" and "Girls on Film." *Out Sept. 11*

**SELENA GOMEZ**
***REVIVAL***
The actress and singer recently emerged from BFF Taylor Swift's shadow with the polished, slinky single "Good for You." The 23-year-old industry veteran looks to be kicking her career into high gear; she's been working with Swedish superproducer Max Martin on slick, creative pop fare. *Out Oct. 9*

**TOBY KEITH**
***35 MPH TOWN***
The country star has long been known for forceful social commentary—he rose to fame with militaristic tunes in the wake of Sept. 11—and that's hardly changed with his 18th album. Rather than joining his contemporaries in glorifying small-town life, the title track finds Keith decrying social change reaching the heartland. *Out Oct. 9*

DANCE DUO DISCLOSURE HELPED LAUNCH SAM SMITH'S CAREER WITH THEIR 2012 HIT SINGLE "LATCH"

**NEON INDIAN**
***VEGA INTL NIGHT SCHOOL***
Mexican-born electronic artist Alan Palomo sings about real-estate extortion on lead single "Slumlord," but the beats underneath are as joyfully synthy as they've ever been. *Out Oct. 16*

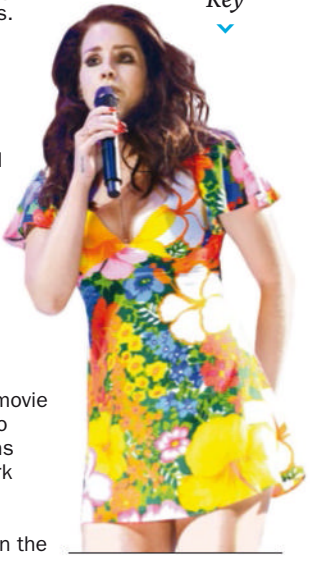
**BØRNS**
***DOPAMINE***
The 23-year-old Michigan native has been attracting fans since a 2011 TEDx event where he played the ukulele. (Back then he was called Garrett Borns.) His first single, "Electric Love," may be familiar from Hulu commercials—the sort of attention that tends to yield big career dividends. *Out Oct. 16*

**JOANNA NEWSOM**
***DIVERS***
The harpist and vocalist hasn't released a new album in five years, and she's enlisted Paul Thomas Anderson (recently her director in the movie *Inherent Vice*) to help remind fans of her trademark style with new music videos. Collaborators on the music side of *Divers* include classical composer Nico Muhly. *Out Oct. 23*

**ELVIS PRESLEY**
***IF I CAN DREAM***
Presley, currently featured on his second U.S. postage stamp, is still rock's king, but his voice could bend to any genre. Here he gets a booming, operatic sound, as paired with the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra on classical arrangements of his hits approved by his widow Priscilla. *Out Oct. 30*

**LITTLE MIX**
***GET WEIRD***
The equation for success is One Direction multiplied by the variable of XX. This all-girl group was formed on British reality TV, just like pop's reigning lads. And like its counterparts, it's been making waves stateside, including with the breakout single "Black Magic." *Out Nov. 6*

*Lana Del Rey*



DURAN DURAN: XAVI TORRENT—GETTY IMAGES; DEL REY: C FLANIGAN—GETTY IMAGES; ILLUSTRATION BY BEN KIRCHNER FOR TIME

THEATER CALENDAR

# A founder of the Treasury cashes in on Broadway

**OCT. 14**
***THE GIN GAME***
D.L. Coburn's sentimental two-hander, about a pair of nursing-home residents who strike up a friendship over cards, has provided a vehicle for some of theater's most illustrious senior citizens (like Hume Cronyn and Jessica Tandy, who originated the roles in 1977). Two especially revered old-timers—James Earl Jones, 84, and Cicely Tyson, 90—are united onstage for this revival.

**OCT. 29**
***THÉRÈSE RAQUIN***
The parade of movie stars lighting up Broadway continues: Keira Knightley plays a woman in a loveless marriage who embarks on a passionate and tragic affair in Helen Edmundson's new stage adaptation of the famed Émile Zola novel.

**NOV. 1**
***KING CHARLES III***
Prince Charles finally ascends to the throne of England in Mike Bartlett's brilliantly realized political thriller—a big hit on London's West End, now hoping to win over American audiences. The chances are good, since the fine British cast (headed by Tim Pigott-Smith as Charles) is making the transatlantic crossing as well.

**NOV. 5**
***ON YOUR FEET!***
From Havana to the streets of Miami, Gloria and Emilio Estefan chart their rise to pop stardom in this new musical, which features a selection of Gloria's hits as well as new songs. Cuban-American newcomer Ana Villafañe gets her own shot at stardom as Gloria.

**NOV. 12**
***A VIEW FROM THE BRIDGE***
Arthur Miller's 1955 drama about a Brooklyn longshoreman with an unhealthy fixation on his young niece has been around the Broadway block a few times. But director Ivo van Hove's radical new staging wowed the London critics, won an Olivier Award for Best Revival and arrives on Broadway with its heralded British cast (headed by Mark Strong) intact.

**NOV. 15**
***MISERY***
Bruce Willis, making his Broadway debut, plays a best-selling novelist laid up after a car crash and held prisoner by his "No. 1 fan." Laurie Metcalf takes on the role that won Kathy Bates an Oscar in this new stage adaptation of Stephen King's novel and Rob Reiner's hit movie.

**DEC. 17**
***FIDDLER ON THE ROOF***
They missed the 50th anniversary by a year, but it's always time for a new revival of the beloved 1964 musical set in the turn-of-the-century Russian village of Anatevka. Broadway veteran Danny Burstein stars as the tradition-bound Tevye, and the sure-handed Bartlett Sher (director of last season's Tony-winning revival of *The King and I*) is at the helm.

*From left, Phillipa Soo, Lin-Manuel Miranda and Renée Elise Goldsberry*

**NOW PLAYING**
***HAMILTON***
The runaway hit of Broadway's fall season actually opened in the dog days of summer. Less than a month after its critically acclaimed premiere, Lin-Manuel Miranda's hip-hop take on one of the more unlikely Founding Fathers, Alexander Hamilton, is drawing standing-room-only crowds. **The Obamas have been to see it, and so have Bill and Hillary Clinton, Denzel Washington, Madonna and Dick Cheney.** Premium orchestra seats are going for as much as $1,000, but in a small concession to democratic values, a few front-row seats for each show are on offer for $10—just one Hamilton, baby—to patrons selected by lottery. Take your chances on the tickets because the show is a sure thing.

ANDREW LLOYD WEBBER WROTE THE SCORE FOR A MUSICAL ADAPTATION OF THE 2003 JACK BLACK MOVIE *SCHOOL OF ROCK*, ABOUT A METALHEAD WHO INSPIRES HIS STUDENTS (DEC. 6)

HAMILTON: SARA KRULWICH—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; ILLUSTRATION BY BEN KIRCHNER FOR TIME

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THE AWESOME COLUMN

# Hosting my own podcast taught me a lot about myself—including how to cry

**By Joel Stein**

PEOPLE ALWAYS ASK WHAT I DO WITH ALL MY TIME, SINCE this column clearly cannot take more than five hours, a number I'm greatly exaggerating for the sake of my editor. I explain to these curious people that, just like everyone even tangentially involved in the media, I spend the majority of my work hours as a guest on podcasts.

I have been on podcasts about things I know nothing about: cult films, entrepreneurship, baseball, motherhood, cocktails (two different ones) and, even more oddly, podcasting. It is totally feasible that there will soon be a podcast about podcasts about podcasts.

The reason so many people are creating books, podcasts, songs and videos isn't that technology uncaged millions of potential artists by removing the barriers to entry. It's that technology allowed people to consume tiny bits of media in every half-moment of potential boredom, thereby removing the barrier of being entertaining. All that content needs to accomplish is to be slightly more exciting than standing in line or paying attention to our children.

**IT'S GOTTEN TO** the point where it's embarrassing to tell people I don't have a podcast. So after years of refusing offers to do one because the offers did not involve money, I got a deal from the podcasting company Midroll Media, which is responsible for such hit shows as *Who Charted?*, *Yo, Is This Racist?* and *Denzel Washington Is the Greatest Actor of All Time Period*. My friend Art Chung, who works at NPR, suggested I record just five episodes of self-improvement projects and call it *What's Wrong With Me?* This sounded great to me, since I have exactly six things to improve about myself and one was not having a podcast.

I met the producer Midroll hired for me at a coffee shop near my house, and immediately knew I had made a horrible mistake. Shara Morris is 26, smart and eager to work hard, which was a huge problem since that would involve me working hard. I suggested we record episodes in which I wrote thank-you notes, learned about classical music and made a Republican friend. She insisted that I "dig deeper" for "truth" by working on my marriage, overcoming my lack of assertiveness, giving back to society and finding a more challenging career. Shara clearly thought this was her chance to win some podcast award from the National Podcast Association, which is an organization I have no doubt will exist by the time you finish reading this. By the end of our coffee, I agreed to do it her way, solely because I hadn't yet tackled my lack of assertiveness.

So I found myself interviewing self-help guru Tim Ferriss, sex-advice columnist Dan Savage and philosopher Peter Singer; confronting my dad on his job as a grandfather; volunteering as a writing tutor and other things that took way more than five hours. My assertiveness-training therapist made me walk up to six strangers and compliment them, which sounds easy since I'm a reporter and, also, a human being. But it took me six weeks, and several hours of walking around coffee shops hunting for approachable-looking people. Five of my compliments involved hats, despite the fact that I don't like hats. I just figured people with hats are looking for attention. Before I confronted my dad, I went to a Jewish deli and found an old Jewish man and asked him to pretend to be my father so I could practice. Then I had to confront my lovely wife Cassandra, who was upset that I was spending my time on a project that pays even less than print journalism.

And then, after I had a session with the brilliant therapist Phil Stutz, during which he told me I was dead inside, Shara started to cry because Stutz had casually mentioned she seemed to have some healthy anger in her. This led to an outpouring about how that anger was related to her feeling overwhelmed by the podcast workload. That required talking and hugging. About a podcast. This reminded me why I write, which already involves one too many people for my taste.

I told Shara that this was just one podcast in a bright career that will be full of many, many podcasts, and that one day she'd look back on our podcast as just a silly fling between a young girl and an old-media man. Eventually, she stopped crying and had me back in my living room talking into a microphone with a blanket over my head to improve sound quality. You confront your desperation to stay current when you're under a quilt in the middle of the summer, next to a twenty-something podcast producer, talking to yourself in the dark about your marriage. Shara might not have been the only one to cry.

ILLUSTRATION BY MARTIN GEE FOR TIME

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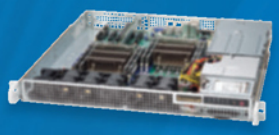

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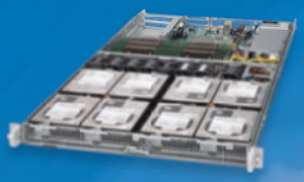

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**Mindy Kaling** The creator and star of *The Mindy Project* talks about her new book, *Why Not Me?,* her dream guest star and the importance of two minutes

**Writing on *The Office* was the foundation of your success, and you're in the main creative role of *The Mindy Project* as well as starring in it. Could you go back to writing without acting?** No. Because I'm writing for the screen, because I'm writing words that people say, it's so performance-based. If you were in our writers' room, you would see that we're performing as it happens. I don't think I could ever just do one or the other because it's so linked to how I put words on the page.

**There's a chapter in your book about dating a "Will" who works in the White House. What do you think President Obama thinks of your fling?** I always speak so highly of everyone that I met in my experiences there, so I would hope that he liked it.

**You write that onscreen sex scenes are actually fun. Who's your favorite fictional partner?** Anders Holm, who was my fiancé on the show. He's like 11 feet tall, so he does that thing that a lot of girls like where he just makes you feel really tiny. And Seth Rogen is a great kisser.

**If *The Mindy Project* had been on a streaming service like Hulu from the get-go, how might you have written it differently?** Maybe the luxury of a little bit more time. I came from eight years of writing and acting on *The Office,* so I really like the structure of a network show, and I grew up liking it. Probably the only real difference would be they average 22½ minutes, and the average network sitcom is 20½ minutes, which doesn't seem like a big difference, but those extra two minutes are huge.

**Who is the one person you're dying to have guest-star?** Reese Witherspoon. I love Reese. She's fantastic. Obviously she's superfunny. And I think she would be such a good foe to my character. And, let's see … Idris Elba. Wouldn't everybody love to have Idris Elba?

**You have said that you want to work with feminists, so what's the *Mindy Project* litmus test for staffers?** There are so many shows now that are record-breaking, so you have more choice where you can work. And if you choose to work on a show whose star is a very flawed, complicated, big comedy character who's a woman, then already that bodes well with where your politics lean and where your priorities are. It just would not be a place where you could work if you did not have a strong feminist leaning.

**At the beginning of your career, did you anticipate you would have to answer constant questions about being a standard bearer for women of color or women in general?** I didn't think about that. I do find it surprising that it's so remarkable to other people. But if it makes me seem special or the show seem special, then I like it. I've only ever lived in my skin, and I don't know what the experience is like to be anything other than what I am.

> 'I'm not the kind of comedian who puts a huge premium on saying the raunchiest thing just to shock people.'

**Is there any type of humor that's off-limits?** Definitely. I'm not the kind of comedian who puts a huge premium on saying the raunchiest thing just to shock people. I'm not that person. I do think it's cool that other people do that, and I am titillated by it, but that wasn't my training on *The Office,* and that's not usually what makes me laugh the most.

**You're writing a book with B.J. Novak. He's your ex but also your favorite writer and your "soup snake," an *Office* malaprop for "soul mate." Do soup snakes ever end up together?** I don't know about that.

—CLAIRE HOWORTH

MAARTEN DE BOER—CONTOUR BY GETTY IMAGES

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